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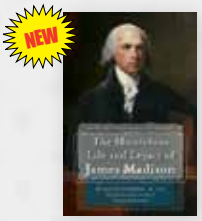

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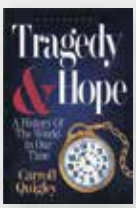

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WWIII and the "Multipolar" World

World War III: Something people have talked about with dread ever since the beginning of the Cold War; something that has haunted Americans like a specter for decades. After 1991, the fears of such a (potentially) world-ending conflict, at least for Americans, diminished substantially. Now, however, the threat of a new global conflict between great powers seems more likely with each passing month.

Indeed, the world is changing. Gone is the so-called *Pax Americana* of the 1990s when the United States was the undisputed superpower in a "unipolar" world, able to impose her will anywhere on Earth with little to no opposition. Russia was essentially a failed state; China, for the most part, was yet undeveloped; and American military power was at its zenith. Fast-forward 35 years, and Russia under Vladimir Putin's rule is once again a great power with a modernized military; China has developed at breakneck speed and is now the world's manufacturing powerhouse; and military advancements such as drones and hypersonic missiles have neutralized some of America's advantages.

Add to this the rise and continued expansion of the BRICS economic alliance over the past decade and a half, and we are quickly witnessing a return to a "multipolar" world order with several great planetary power centers.

Some see this change as a good thing; some see it as the natural course of history, neither good nor bad; and some see it as a distinct negative, to be thwarted at any cost. The latter, not surprisingly, include the globalist elites of America and Western Europe. Unfortunately, such Establishment types will seek to maintain their power and dominant position at all costs — even war. Conversely, the rising power centers have no desire to be subservient states in a U.S.-led world order, and will likewise go to war to protect their status.

As mentioned above, we seem to be moving closer to another global conflict between great powers. In some ways, WWIII is already taking place — not as an open war between major countries, but as a handful of "proxy wars" that could erupt into a world war at any moment. Think Israel (allied with the United States) vs. Hamas/Hezbollah/Houthis and Iran (allied with Russia and China); Russia (allied with China and much of BRICS) vs. Ukraine (allied with NATO countries); and the preparations for a potential war between the United States and China (ostensibly over Taiwan).

While Western mainstream media often paint these real and potential conflicts as a sort of Marvel-esque battle between the "good guys" and the "bad guys" — a war to defend the beleaguered West, the last beacon of "democracy" and bastion of freedom, from the bloodthirsty mongrel hordes of the East — the reality is that this is merely a struggle for geopolitical dominance and control of resources being played out on the world stage.

But should the United States really "take sides" in this conflict, or, for that matter, seek to involve itself in the first place? Are such changes in the global power dynamic really detrimental to America? In a word, no. After all, for much of human history, the global geopolitical reality was that of multiple poles, or "nodes" of power. This, of course, was the state of the world when the United States came on the scene — there were multiple great powers striving with one another (particularly in Europe), and America felt it wise to stay out of such intrigues and conflicts and chart her own destiny. Only an America that follows an interventionist foreign policy — something anathema to our Founders — and that seeks to be a dominant world power would feel threatened by a multipolar world order.

Our cover story in this issue examines a possible worst-case scenario of a nuclear world war between the great powers, and what this might mean for America. But before any of this takes place, America needs to pull back from her role as the world's police force and her attempts to hold on to a position of economic dominance. Besides being unconstitutional, trying to maintain such a status is no longer feasible, or even possible.

Following a constitutional monetary, fiscal, and foreign policy would lead to a safer, saner, and more prosperous America.

— John T. Larabell

WORLD WAR 3
ON THE HORIZON?

Conditions for another world war seem to be building.
We all worry about nukes, but what will the likely *political* fallout be?

by Steve Bonta

On May 7, 2025, India and Pakistan went to war. Indian forces unleashed a barrage of missiles at targets inside Pakistan in reprisal for a bloody terrorist attack on Indian tourists in disputed Kashmir. In the three days of fighting that followed, India and Pakistan traded blows, with missiles raining down on both sides of the border. Several military aircraft were shot down, and religious sites were attacked. As the three days of intense fighting unfolded, the world watched and wondered how far events would go. After all, both India and Pakistan have nuclear arsenals, and this was one of only a handful of occasions when nuclear-armed foes had actually gone to war.

Three days into the conflict, something changed. The Trump administration, having previously declared the conflict "none of our business," announced a hastily negotiated ceasefire, and India and Pakistan backed off. As it turned out, Pakistan, outgunned by its much larger neighbor, had drawn the United States into the conflict to provide diplomatic cover for a stand-down. And to do that, it played a calculated and brazen game of nuclear chicken.

According to Manoj Gupta of CNN-News18:

> Following precision Indian military strikes under "Operation Sindoor," Pakistan convened its National Command Authority (NCA) — the body responsible for its nuclear arsenal. During the meeting, Pakistan Army Chief General Asim Munir reportedly told US Senator Marco Rubio about Islamabad's intent to "press the nuclear button" if the situation continued to spiral.
>
> This veiled threat was part of a calculated strategy to trigger US intervention. Within hours of the NCA meeting, calls were made to New Delhi and a ceasefire was hastily announced, ending over 100 hours of military action between the two nuclear-armed neighbours.
>
> In an unprecedented admission, a senior Pakistani military official told journalists, "We threatened America to stop the war or we would press the button."…
>
> This direct acknowledgement of nuclear blackmail has shocked strategic observers, highlighting how Pakistan weaponized global fears of nuclear conflict to pressure the U.S. and shape the outcome of the India-Pakistan confrontation.

AP Images

Powder keg: Kashmir, India's only Muslim-majority state, has long been the chief bone of contention between India and Pakistan. So far, President Trump's only successful peace negotiation in his second term was persuading the two nuclear-armed nations to back away from the precipice of all-out war in the wake of a terror attack against Indian tourists in Kashmir.

Pakistan's nuclear bluff is far from the only such that we have seen in recent years. Russia's Putin has been threatening Europe with nuclear annihilation with almost monotonous regularity since the war on Ukraine began, while North Korea has periodically promised to unleash nuclear hellfire against South Korea if provoked. Throw in the prospect of an eventual nuclear Iran, and the world appears to be closer than ever to a long-dreaded World War III, complete with nukes, fallout, and the end of modern civilization as we know it.

That, at least, is the narrative. While the actors have changed over the decades, the warnings of nuclear annihilation have remained the same. However, the world has never actually witnessed a nuclear war — that is, an exchange of nuclear weapons under conditions of total war. And as long as the use of nuclear weapons remains the ultimate taboo, the threat of what *might* happen in the event World War III breaks out can be used as a powerful instrument of persuasion in global power politics.

False Alternatives

In 1947, philosopher James Burnham published *The Struggle for the World*, in which he argued for the need to establish a "world empire" along American federalist lines — because nuclear weapons left humanity with only two choices: conquest by the Soviet Union, or conquest by the United States.

Wrote Burnham:

> The communist plan for the solution of the world crisis is the World Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics: that is, the communist World Empire. If the communists are not to win, there must be presented to the governments and the peoples of the world a positive alternative to the communist plan, which will meet, at least as well as the communist plan, the demands of the crisis. Mankind will not accept, as a substitute for the communist Empire, nothing.
>
> This alternative can only be another, a non-communist World Federation — a federation at least of enough of the world to dominate effectively the major questions of world politics. No world federation will, we have seen, be attained voluntarily in our time. Besides the communists, only the United

Steve Bonta is publisher of The New American.

States holds power enough to force a federation into being. It can be brought about only if the United States, retaining for itself monopoly control of atomic weapons, assumes responsibility for world leadership….

The only alternative to the communist World Empire is an American Empire which will be, if not literally worldwide in formal boundaries, capable of exercising decisive world control…. The threat of a communist World Empire would therefore be eliminated. Once functioning, the primary political business of the American Empire would be the restriction of warfare within limits that would permit civilization to continue. To accomplish this, the crucial step would be to safeguard the monopoly of atomic weapons. There would have to be the continuous assurance against possession of atomic weapons or their means of manufacture by two or more rival centers; there would have always to be one and only one control.

Lila Patel/Adobe Stock

Liberty submerged: World War III would almost certainly desolate entire cities, but would American liberty and independence even survive such an event?

The goal of a global monopoly over nuclear weapons has yet to be accomplished, and many other countries have acquired "nukes" since Burnham's aspirational book was published. It needs to be pointed out that Burnham's globalist Establishment credentials were impeccable. A prominent Trotskyite radical as a young man, Burnham resigned from the American Marxist movement in 1940, just in time to enlist his energies at the OSS (the predecessor to the CIA) following a recommendation from American diplomat George Kennan, where he was an expert on psychological warfare. After the war, Burnham allied himself with the new American conservative movement and, as a close associate of William F. Buckley, was one of the co-founders of *National Review*, where for many years he authored a column entitled "Third World War." Thus Burnham's views on the subject of nuclear weapons, World War III, and globalist strategy generally may be regarded as typical of those of the internationalists of his day and ours, to wit: 1) a "world empire" is inevitable, and far better for it to be constructed on Western, America-centered lines than at the behest of the Russians or the Chinese; and 2) nuclear weapons make any prospect of another world war inadmissible, so these weapons must all be either eliminated or brought under some type of monopolistic control — preferably the American hegemon, acting as agent for the globalists.

For decades, Western globalists on both the "Left" and the "Right" have encouraged the belief that the prospect of a war of extinction overrides all other principles and policy considerations, including even American independence. According to globalist logic, America is only justified in defending herself until the enemy calls her bluff and threatens to start a nuclear war. Once that happens, it's time to surrender. Like the "better red than dead" arguments urged on the United States during the Cold War, these self-defeating cadences amount to preemptive capitulation in the face of a supposedly unopposable threat.

By all evidence, globalist elites would prefer to avoid World War III, understanding (as do the rest of us) that such an event would be immensely destructive, likely far surpassing the combined toll of the two previous world wars, and quite possibly irradiating vast regions of the earth, to the detriment of life forms generally. Some of the more extravagant predictions of a nuclear holocaust assert irrevocable damage to the world's climate (so-called nuclear winter), mass extinction, extensive mutation among surviving organisms, and possibly even the near-extermination of the human race. Certainly such nightmarish outcomes had some plausibility during the height of the Cold War, when the United States and the Soviet Union had more than 60,000 nuclear weapons between them. Today's nuclear stockpiles, however, are much smaller, with the United States and Russia fielding a combined 10,000 nukes, and the other seven nuclear powers adding as many as 1,500 total additional weapons. Still, the threat of such a war has proven devastatingly effective over the decades in extracting concessions from the United States and other countries that would oppose the effort to bring about "global integration," i.e., some form of world government. As G. Edward Griffin long ago put it:

> Without a doubt, the Atomic Bomb *is* the most powerful weapon in the Communist arsenal. But it's as a psychological weapon, not a military one…. Under the constant threat of nuclear annihilation, we've accepted concessions, compromises, and defeats one after another, which would have been unthinkable without that spectre of a giant mushroom cloud fixed deep in our subconscious. As a matter of fact, The Bomb, as a psychological weapon, is being dropped on the American people everyday. Movies such as *On the Beach*, *Seven Days in May*, *Dr. Strangelove*, *Fail Safe*, *Planet of the Apes* — those well-produced and

> entertaining movies have done really a professional job of strengthening, subconsciously at least, the premise of The Grand Design [i.e, the plan to bring about world government].

In our day, of course, the steady parade of post-apocalyptic fiction continues to stoke popular paranoia about World War III; more recent cinematographic offerings such as *The Road* (based on a Cormack McCarthy novel of the same name), *The Book of Eli*, the *Terminator* movies, *Homestead*, and the television series *Jericho*, among many others, all contemplate a post-apocalyptic world devastated by nuclear war. The tropes have become so standard as to be cliché: roving bands of mutants, cannibals, and warlords in violent competition for scarce resources in a post-urban world where familiar icons such as the Statue of Liberty and the towers of Las Vegas are falling into ruin.

The Path to World War

But what would a hypothetical World War III actually look like? First of all, it is extremely unlikely that it would erupt completely by surprise on an unsuspecting world like the AI-generated nuclear holocaust in the *Terminator* movies. Instead, like most major wars, including the two previous world wars, it would likely break out in response to long-simmering regional conflicts or other triggers such as a major global financial crisis. Consider the lead-up to World War II, obvious with the benefit of hindsight but reasonably evident even in the 1930s to discerning observers. The dials for that conflict were set, in Europe at least, with the punitive peace imposed on Germany at Versailles, a peace that led to the financial ruin of Germany and the decrepit Weimar Republic. By the time of the rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis in the early 1930s, it was already obvious that something had gone terribly wrong in Germany. Hitler's plans to rebuild the German military and to avenge her perceived humiliation were hardly a secret. At the same time, Stalin was busy committing genocide against Ukraine and cozying up to the Nazis, culminating in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939, which paved the way for the Soviet annexation of the Baltics and a large part of Finland shortly thereafter. And Italy's Mussolini, having first formalized the Axis agreement with Germany in 1936, followed with the "Pact of Steel" in May 1939.

Meanwhile, the Far East had already been at war for several years, with the Second Sino-Japanese War taking a decisive turn with the Battle of Shanghai in 1937 and the appalling Nanjing Massacre at the end of that same pivotal year. In September 1940, in a bid to discourage America from joining the war on either front, Japan and Germany entered into the Tripartite Pact, an action that officially transformed the wars in Europe and the Far East into one titanic global conflict.

In other words, World War II did not break out in an instant but instead coalesced, and surprised no sober observer in its day.

The parallels between the world of the late 1930s and the world of today are significant and alarming. For example, one world power that (at least, according to its version of events) was humiliated by duplicitous Western powers — Russia — is now, under the leadership of Vladimir Putin, embarking on a revanchist campaign to reconstitute the Soviet Union, or at least a 21st-century simulacrum thereof. In some respects, Putin's grievances, valid or not, are reminiscent of Hitler's: In a time of weakness, he maintains, Russia was humiliated and taken advantage of by the Cold War victors, who — after promising to respect the Russian sphere of influence — proceeded to bring most former Eastern Bloc countries into NATO and the EU, and are bidding fair to do the same with a former constituent state of the Soviet Union, Ukraine. Now Putin is seeking to reincorporate (at least part of) Ukraine into Russia by force, and Europeans are worried that, following the annexation of Ukraine, he may move on to the Baltics and Poland, bringing Russia into direct confrontation with NATO.

In the Far East, meanwhile, China has embarked on an almost nonstop campaign of direct confrontation with four of its neighbors — India, Japan, the Philippines, and, especially, Taiwan. Communist China's undisguised ambition to conquer Taiwan is well known; less appreciated are its extensive territorial claims on parts of the Philippines, especially the island of Palawan; most of Himalayan India; and the entirety of the small country of Bhutan, among others. China continues to nurse bitter grievances for the alleged "Century of Humiliation" imposed by the likes of the British and Imperial Japan, a theme that the communists have been exploiting for propaganda purposes for generations.

But for all its posturing and threats, China has not — so far — shown anything like the extraterritorial aggression of Imperial Japan, which, it must be remembered, controlled much of China, most of Southeast Asia, and most of the Western Pacific at the height of its power.

Then there's the ever-volatile Middle East, where the issue du jour is Iran's grow-

ing nuclear capacity. The United States seems likely to intervene there, inasmuch as a nuclear-armed Iran would not only pose a direct threat to the United States, but also very likely lead to a nuclear-armed Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and UAE in short order. Given Iran's close ties with both Russia and China, it is conceivable that an all-out attack on Iran to deny them nuclear weapons might draw in other great powers.

In all of this, Trump's attempts at ending these wars have been (with the exception of India and Pakistan) unsuccessful so far. Russia and Ukraine show no signs of a letup, and neither does the mess in the Middle East. Throw in the ongoing crisis between nuclear-armed India and Pakistan, along with the ever-volatile Korean peninsula, and there appears to be greater potential for nuclear conflict, as well as an all-out world war, than at any time since 1945, including the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962.

Hidden Agendas

But wars — especially world-altering conflicts — seldom come about completely by accident. In particular, the involvement of the United States in war has often, if not always, been the result of deliberate maneuvering by elite interests whose agendas differ sharply from public perceptions. American involvement in World War I, for example, was promoted by the Woodrow Wilson administration as a crusade on behalf of "democracy." But in reality, it was largely driven by international bankers anxious for a return on their investment after debtor nations such as France and the U.K., stretched to the limit of their ability to service their war debts, faced the prospect of both defeat and default. The American intervention ensured that the assets of big international lenders on both sides of the Atlantic were secured.

And there was another, even more sinister, motive. By the early 20th century, the movement to create a world government under an Anglo-American federation, directed by American and British elites, was well underway, as historian Carroll Quigley amply documented in his magnum opus *Tragedy and Hope*, and in even greater detail in his lesser-known volume *The Anglo-American Establishment*. This carefully conceived plan for a world federation was well known then, although it was carefully concealed from the general public. And it was still in the works after World War II, as the aforementioned James Burnham makes clear:

> The supreme policy formulated in this chapter would, I believe, dictate an immediate proposal by the United States to Great Britain and the British Dominions: common citizenship and full political union…. Political experience, moreover, would seem to indicate that there would be more support for, and less opposition to, a proposal for outright union than for a mere alliance…. Actual union between the United States and Great Britain and her Dominions would … be a catalyst which would instantaneously transform the whole of world politics.

Both world wars cemented in the American psyche the notion that, after all, we should be re-yoked to Europe, and, especially, to the "perfidious Albion" we once opposed in two bitter conflicts to vindicate our independence. It is because of those wars that we are now involved in NATO and the UN; that we are treaty-bound to protect the likes of Japan, the Philippines, South Korea, Australia, and New Zealand; and that we have military bases all over the world to enforce the postwar global order that has included keeping the communist powers in check and ensuring that shipping lanes stay open and that international trade remains unhindered.

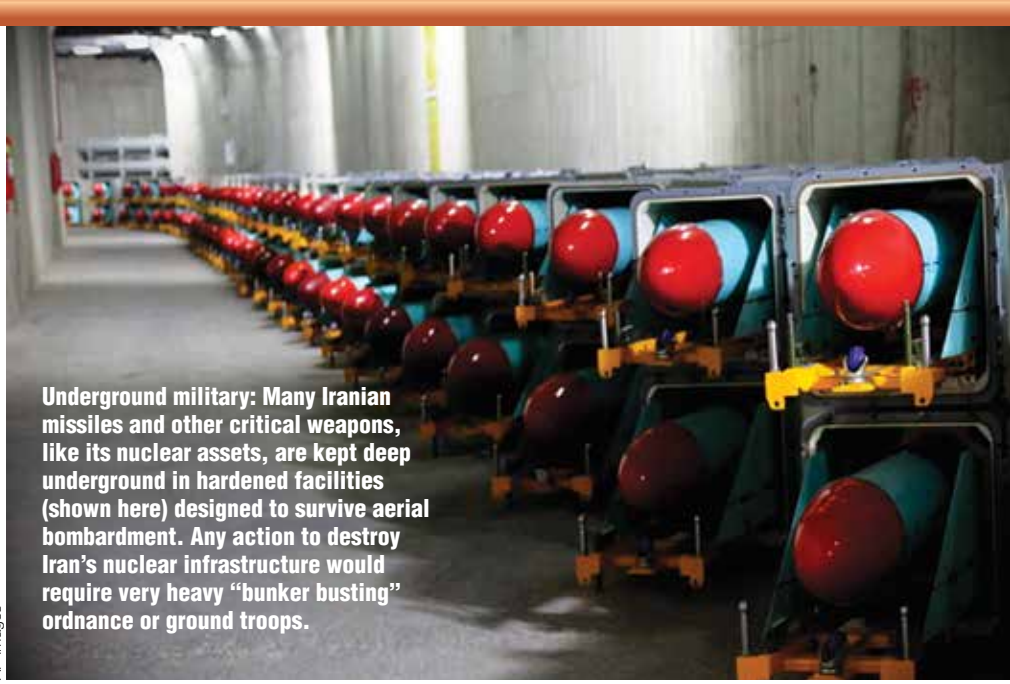
Now, however, the old order is fraying. For the first time in almost a century, the United States is expressing reservations at being enlisted to solve a major European conflict. Europeans are expressing growing dissatisfaction with the unwillingness of the United States to continue to foot most of the bill for defending the Continent. In both the Middle and Far East, America seems less interested in military domination than in reconfiguring international trade. To be sure, American military bases in Germany, Turkey, Japan, and South Korea remain open. But the zest for perpetuating world order has all but disappeared.

Waiting for the invasion: Communist China has made no secret of its intention to conquer Taiwan and extinguish its liberty, much as it has done recently with Hong Kong. Taiwan is preparing for the worst. Will the United States come to its aid should the hour of decision arrive?

AP Images

Nightmare Scenario

In such a time of transition, another world war is certainly a possibility — especially if it can be undertaken in such a way as to draw America back into the globalist fold. While it is impossible to know what the globalists are planning — or, indeed, the extent to which any of the current mayhem is the result of happenstance or malice aforethought — we can imagine how World War III might break out, and what its aftermath might look like. The initial spark might come on the Korean Peninsula, or in the South China Sea, the Middle East, the Suwalki Gap on the Poland-Lithuania



Underground military: Many Iranian missiles and other critical weapons, like its nuclear assets, are kept deep underground in hardened facilities (shown here) designed to survive aerial bombardment. Any action to destroy Iran's nuclear infrastructure would require very heavy "bunker busting" ordnance or ground troops.

AP Images

border, or somewhere else. Whatever the catalyst, the United States at some point finds itself preparing for war with China, while the Middle East dissolves into all-out war. Russia and Belarus decide to take advantage of the distractions to move on the Baltic states and Poland, calculating that NATO no longer has the resolve or the resources to invoke Article 5, its mutual-defense clause. Hardened by years of fighting in Ukraine, Russian and Belarussian forces quickly overwhelm Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, and secure a coveted land corridor to the crucial Kaliningrad exclave. In the Far East, American forces rush to the aid of either South Korea or Taiwan, and before long, Americans and Chinese are in direct conflict for the first time since the Korean War. In the Middle East, a beleaguered Israel, facing a well-armed and united front of Arab nations, realizes that its old ally, the United States, cannot come to its aid, and, out of desperation, unleashes its most feared weapon, the Jericho III nuclear missile, against the massed forces of its enemies, including strikes on critical military bases in Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt.

With the nuclear genie finally unbottled, combatants elsewhere evaluate the damage and calculate their own chances. Seeing that the war continues in the Middle East, even with hundreds of thousands dead from the Israeli strikes, the Chinese — whose inexperienced conventional forces are not faring well against the United States — decide to play their own nuclear trump card. A surprise nuclear barrage against major American military assets in the region, including bases in Guam, Japan, South Korea, and Japan, inflicts massive losses on U.S. forces, even though some of the missiles and nuclear-armed bombers are intercepted. The United States, having suffered a nuclear attack against its own territory, retaliates against China with an overwhelming attack on Chinese military assets and critical infrastructure on the mainland. Although civilian population centers are not deliberately targeted, the toll is still horrific.

In Europe, meanwhile, the toll is even worse, as Western European forces are targeted by Russian battlefield nukes, only to respond in kind with strikes against the Russian homeland. Russia retaliates with nuclear attacks on major European population centers, including Paris, London, Birmingham, and Sheffield. While millions of people are dying in the horrific nuclear escalation, most of Europe's elites, along with critical assets, are directing matters from hardened bunkers deep within the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Jura.

Seeing the horror unfolding in Europe, the United States decides to intervene to stop Russia. Millions of Americans flee from major population centers as America and Russia begin targeting each other's critical military assets in an attempt to blunt each other's ability to retaliate. At the same time, American forces continue to pound China with both nuclear and conventional weapons. Its military shattered, China withdraws its designs on Taiwan and/or South Korea, and turns its forces inward in a final, desperate effort to quell mass rioting and revolt.

Russia now reaps the whirlwind as the combined remaining forces of NATO are brought to bear on her overextended military. In the end, Russia loses, but Europe and the United States have suffered tens of millions of casualties. Several American cities have been leveled by Russian and Chinese nukes, but most of the damage has been done to critical military assets such as major air bases, naval facilities, and nuclear missile silos. In the Middle East, too, the fighting winds down.

With more than 400 million dead worldwide, World War III has been a calamity like no other. While the worst predictions of nuclear winter and mass extinction have not come to pass, the survivors find themselves in a radically altered world of bankrupt governments, worthless money, and shattered chains of production. Famine and disease — in addition to radiation sickness — soon rear their ugly heads, and titanic civil unrest erupts around the world. Starvation, race rioting, and partisan strife on an immense scale claim millions of additional lives, both in America and overseas.

But now the bunkered elites of Europe and the United States emerge with their praetorian guards, and announce a plan to a planet on the brink. The time of sovereign states is past, they tell the rest of us. Humanity has survived this calamity — barely — but next time, it will not be so lucky. Accordingly, all remaining nuclear warheads and other major military assets are to be put under international command, so that never again will the world be menaced by nuclear annihilation. Both Russia and China, defeated and paralyzed by civil unrest, are in no condition to resist.

A new international organization is announced to replace the decrepit United Nations. It is to be called the United Federation (UF), and it is, in effect, a federal world government. The United Federation will have a monopoly on military force and a new global currency, the bancor, which will replace all the currencies, including the U.S. dollar, that have been destroyed by the war and its aftermath. It is announced that all national and personal debts will be erased, and a global "jubilee year" of sorts is proclaimed, to enable the human race to rebuild. The UF will be headquartered in Atlanta, with re-

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Safety dome: Trump's proposed "Golden Dome" missile defense project, inspired by Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, as well as Israel's "Iron Dome," is a long overdue measure to do one thing that the federal government is constitutionally required to do: defend the American homeland. That it has refused to do so for decades is a monstrous crime of omission perpetrated by America's many domestic enemies.

gional administrative facilities all over the world. The United States relinquishes control of its major military bases around the world to the new UF military force. People are encouraged to restart and rebuild, but it is made clear to all that certain relics of the world that was will no longer be tolerated. Civilian arms are confiscated en masse, and a new global ID, allowing people to travel, live, and work wherever they desire, is issued. Large numbers of men and women, desperate for income, enlist to be trained for the new military and police forces of the UF, and, before long, the entire planet is under UF control. For a while, the new global masters appear benign, coordinating global decontamination efforts and the rebuilding of cities and roads. Commerce resumes and confidence in the new, simplified global financial system buoys the markets. Civil unrest is quelled by the UF, in coordination with elements of the old U.S. military, now subordinate to the new global authority. While some dissenters warn of a "New World Order," most Americans — and citizens of other countries — are happy to see the world being put back together, and peace and prosperity restored. To the vast majority of traumatized survivors, the fact that the U.S. Constitution and the United States itself no longer exist is of little consequence.

Whether World War III follows this or some other scenario, it will likely involve the following elements:

• Global elites and government leaders will take preemptive steps to protect themselves, in order not only to ensure continuity of existing institutions, but also to have the wherewithal to effect radical changes in governance after the war's conclusion.

• World War III would likely involve some use of nuclear weapons, but — owing to their limited supply and to rational wartime calculus — most of them will be directed against military assets in an attempt to deny the enemy retaliatory capability. The rapid development of an American "Golden Dome" missile shield, if successful in the near future, could also be a significant mitigating factor.

• World War III would likely compress into a few weeks a level of devastation and mortality surpassing the two previous world wars combined.

• World War III would impact the American homeland more than any conflict since the Civil War.

• The American populace would be traumatized, impoverished, and afflicted by mass starvation and disease.

• In the wake of such a conflict, many of the world's wealthiest and most powerful, having survived the event, would agitate for a world government to replace the "failed" UN system. This would override both the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution. At first, a post-World War III global order might be welcomed for bringing about continuity and a civilizational rebuild, but in the long run it would be transformed into a global socialist dictatorship.

For all of these and numerous other reasons, we must do our utmost to ensure that World War III never happens — or that, if it does, the damage to America will be limited. Speedy construction of a credible missile defense is a laudable goal, ending decades of self-defeating platitudes about "mutually assured destruction" and "deterrence" via a "balance of terror."

America needs to withdraw as expeditiously as possible from all internationalist, multilateral organizations, especially the United Nations and multilateral defense treaties such as NATO. Both the UN and NATO oblige us to go to war under specious pretexts, namely, the defense of borders and interests other than our own.

But if all else fails, and the worst comes to pass before sufficient preventive measures can be undertaken, American patriots must be prepared to confront a no-holds-barred campaign to usher in world government and renounce our national independence. While it is prudent to take steps to "prep" for such an event by storing food, ammunition, money, and the implements of survival, it is just as important to prepare for the inevitable postwar campaign to bring the United States irrevocably under global control. Our Constitution and way of life have weathered many storms, and can yet weather even the extremities of nuclear war, if our allegiance to our country and liberty is unshakable. ■

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CONGRESSMAN MASSIE BUSTS "BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL" MYTHS

Representative Thomas Massie of Kentucky was one of only two Republicans who voted against President Trump's "Big Beautiful Bill." In this exclusive interview, he explains why.

The New American

Interview by Christian Gomez

In a recent interview with *The New American*, Representative Thomas Massie (R-Ky.) delivered a frank and detailed critique of President Donald Trump's "One Big Beautiful Bill." While the bill renews key tax cuts from the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, Massie opposes it for being "too big"— citing more than $300 billion in new expenditures and a projected national debt surpassing $50 trillion within a decade. Despite what many jubilant Trump supporters might have thought shortly after the bill passed in the House, this is not what they voted for.

Massie, a consistent constitutionalist with a 99-percent lifetime score on *The New American's* Freedom Index, pushed back on President Trump's claim that he "doesn't understand government." He warned that the bill's most promising reforms, such as work requirements for Medicaid recipients and repeal of Green New Deal provisions, are delayed until after Trump would leave office — thereby creating opportunities and incentives for future Congresses to undo or block them before they take effect.

The Kentucky congressman also took aim at House Speaker Mike Johnson (R-La.) for blocking a vote on proposed cuts of $9.4 billion in spending for USAID, NPR, and PBS, which President Trump has vigorously called for slashing.

Beyond fiscal issues, Massie discussed several of his current legislative efforts, including the Federal Reserve Board Abolition Act (H.R. 1846), a bill to abolish the Department of Education (H.R. 899), and the Dual Loyalty Disclosure Act (H.R. 2356), which would require federal candidates to disclose any foreign citizenship. He also voiced support for Representative Tom Tiffany's (R-Wis.) joint resolution to withdraw the United States from the World Trade Organization (WTO), warning that WTO rulings have overridden American sovereignty in matters such as country-of-origin labeling for meat.

Massie was only one of two House Republicans — the other being Representative Warren Davidson of Ohio — who voted against the One Big Beautiful Bill on May 22, 2025. Below is a lightly edited transcript of the interview, which was recorded on May 20 as a video interview for *The New American's Unrestricted*, available to watch for free on TheNewAmerican.com and *The New American's* Facebook and X accounts.

***The New American*:** The White House has said, "President Donald J. Trump's One, Big, Beautiful Bill is a once-in-a-generation opportunity to make good on the promises Republicans have made." For example, the bill renews the tax cuts from the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017 that President Trump signed into law in his first term. Why do you oppose the Big Beautiful Bill?

Representative Thomas Massie: Well, it got too big, unfortunately. If this were just a renewal of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act that I voted for during the first Trump presidency, and it cut spending, you know, we could do that easily by repealing all of the Green New Deal, for instance. It would be probably a pretty easy vote. But here's the thing: This bill also increases spending. It's got about $300 billion of new spending in it. And it doesn't cut much spending at all, anywhere. So, here's the problem overall: Even though I agree with a lot of the policy that's in there, if you take the totality of everything, the debt will

Christian Gomez is research project manager for The John Birch Society.

AP Images

Mad Don: Ahead of a meeting with House Republicans, President Trump told reporters, "I don't think Thomas Massie understands government. I think he's a grandstander, and I think he should be voted out of office."

be over $50 trillion in 10 years. Now, we were already headed for a lot of debt, but this exacerbates the problem. The Big Beautiful Bill will add, in addition to the $20 trillion that we were already going to incur by not addressing those issues and by increasing spending and cutting taxes, it's going to add another $3.5 trillion at least to the debt. Here's the problem with that: We already saw that the rates went up on U.S. Treasury bonds. They're now at five percent, which is what we have to pay the U.S. government, not a car loan. This is the what the U.S. government pays to finance debt on a 30-year note now. And that's because the bond markets are seeing that we're not serious. So in addition to the debt that we're adding with the Big Beautiful Bill, it will send a message to the bond market that costs us more to service the debt that we've already incurred.

TNA: Ahead of a meeting with House Republicans on May 20 about the One Big Beautiful Bill, President Trump singled you out specifically and told reporters, "I don't think Thomas Massie understands government. I think he's a grandstander, and I think he should be voted out of office." What's your response to the president's latest and repeated attacks against you and calls for your removal from office?

Massie: Well, I do understand math, and I do understand economics. I studied both of those things at MIT, which, by the way, later in the room in that meeting that Trump was in with us, he spoke to me directly and brought up the fact that I did go to MIT. He said his genetics are probably better than mine, though, because his uncle went to MIT for 41 years, and he went to the Wharton School of Business, which is the hardest school in the world to get into. He also said I was like Rand Paul, and we had the same hair, but my hair was better. I'm not making this up. But getting back to the substance of your question, I obviously don't think I should be voted out of office for telling the American people what they need to hear. Maybe it's not what they want to hear, but you can't have increased spending and cut taxes without increasing the debt and sending a signal to the people who service our debt that we're not a good investment anymore.

TNA: Did you have a chance to talk to the president one on one? Besides his compliments about your hair?

Massie: Well, I feel like 15 minutes of that meeting was directed at me, and I was kind of, you might say, in listen-only mode. You know, I didn't have a microphone, and he was at the podium.

TNA: It sounds like you two had a good monologue.

Massie: Yeah, it was a monologue. Out of respect, I didn't heckle him or anything like that. He did also address the blue-state Republicans who have advocated for, and actually have gotten in this bill, some really bad tax policy. What I'm talking about is the state and local tax deduction, which under Trump's original tax policy in 2016-2017, they reduced the state and local tax deduction down to $10,000. And you heard a lot of groaning and moaning from blue states because their taxes are so high, they think they shouldn't have to pay as much federal tax. And I think it's ridiculous to say, because you own a $1 million house in the state of New York, and they're taxing you out the wazoo on your property tax, that your obligation to, for instance, finance our military is any less. Because that's basically what you're saying when you give these folks in the high-tax states — which are all run by Democratic governors, [such as] California, Illinois, [and] New York — when you give them this tax deduction, because their taxes are so high at the local level. Well, you've got some Republicans who got that increased to $30,000, which is a reversal of Trump's tax policy. But Mike Johnson agreed to do it. And this is another thing that's contributing to the large deficit that will be incurred due to the Big Beautiful Bill. But [Trump] admonished those blue-state Republicans. He said, "Listen, you're not going to win or lose your election over this tax deduction. If you lose your reelection, it's going to be over something else." And he basically told them, "You got too greedy. We were able to do a little bit of this for you, but now you insist on getting more than $30,000 tax deduction in these blue states. And so just drop it." Now, the blue-state Republicans have not responded well to the tongue-lashing that they [got on May 21] and maybe they'll join me now in their opposition to the Big Beautiful Bill. I don't know.

Trump also told the Freedom Caucus — whom he referred to as his favorite people in the room — he said, quit talking about cutting Medicaid. He said you can talk about waste, fraud, and abuse and eliminating that, but don't go any further. Now, the problem is this bill sets up a situation where the states that haven't expanded Medicaid will be encouraged to expand Medicaid. Otherwise, they'll be

punished and be subsidizing other states. And so that's going to add hundreds of billions of dollars. And it's not a cut to Medicaid, it's just something that needs to be fixed in this bill. Also, the Freedom Caucus — of which I'm not a member, but I join them in this viewpoint — believes that there should be work requirements for able-bodied individuals on Medicaid who don't have children. There's really no excuse not to work. Those are in this bill, but here's the thing, Christian: They don't kick in for another four years, so Trump will be out of office.

Here's another thing about this bill they're not telling you: It doesn't repeal all of the Green New Deal. In fact, the repeal of the Green New Deal is phased out and doesn't happen until Trump is no longer in office. What this does is it sets up an incentive for the Democrats to win the White House and undo all of this before it kicks in.

The savings in the Big Beautiful Bill happen in the last five of the 10-year window, and the expenses that are caused by the Big Beautiful Bill happen in the first five-year window. And that's just one of the things you're not hearing. Let me give you one more very specific example of bad tax policy in this bill.... I love tax cuts.... I've gotten a standalone bill to end tax on tips, I've got the standalone bill to end tax on Social Security [H.R. 1040]. Those are my bills. The problem is this doesn't actually do either of those two things. And [what they do implement is only temporary]. And with respect to the solar tax credit that homeowners get, if they put solar panels on their house, that will end this year under the Big Beautiful Bill. But the solar tax credits to corporations and installers continues until Trump is no longer in office. So that'll do two things. One, it'll create an army of lobbyists who will be here for the next four years to make sure they keep this corporate tax credit in place. But number two, homeowners that want solar panels will now be financially incentivized to have somebody else buy them for them and lease them from corporations; they won't be able to own the panels on their houses. It just won't make financial sense if you set up the tax policy this way. I don't like it.

TNA: It sounds like all of the best provisions that one could carve out of the Big Beautiful Bill don't come into effect until Trump is no longer president, as you've explained. But, if, hypothetically, the Democrats take over and Hakeem Jeffries (D-N.Y.) becomes speaker, whether in two years or four years — and let's say we even have a new president who would sign whatever Hakeem Jeffries would pass out of a Democrat-controlled House — the positive aspects that you could carve out of the Big Beautiful Bill could all be undone by future legislation, even long before the good stuff would kick in. Correct?

Massie: Not only that, Christian — yes, it could be undone — and the Democrats actually get two elections to try to undo this, they get 2026 and 2028. Obviously the president wouldn't likely undo his own stuff. But, even if the Democrats don't take full control in 2028, you can conceivably have Republicans who are compelled to keep the status quo and not let all of these money-saving provisions kick in later on. It wouldn't require Democrats to take over to keep the good stuff from happening in the later years. It just takes an army of lobbyists and a few Republicans that say, "Okay, we were just kind of kidding. We're not really going to do those work requirements for Medicaid. We're not really going to cut corporate subsidies for these solar panels and windmills and batteries."

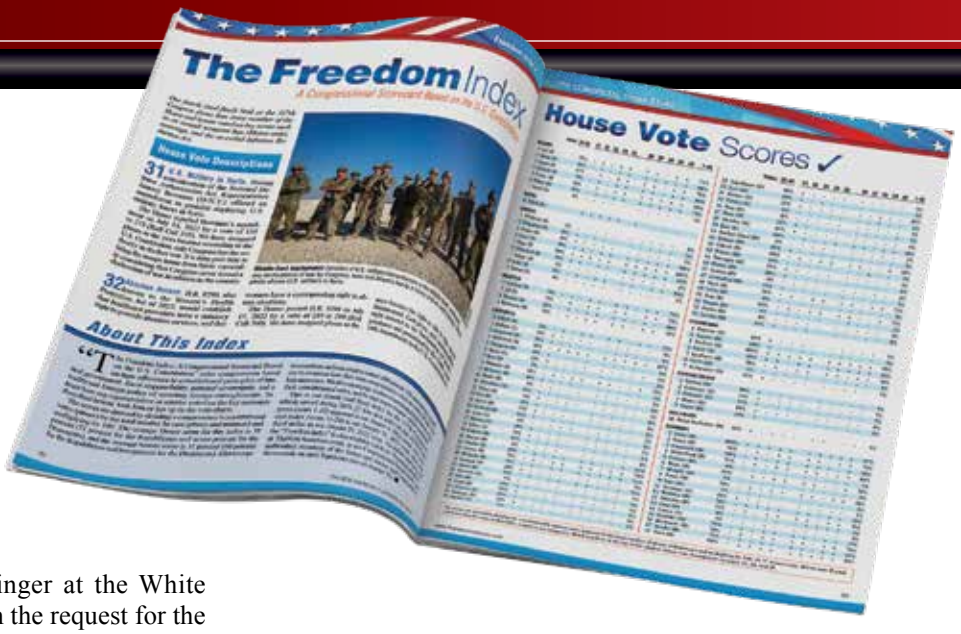
TNA: In his State of the Union address, President Trump listed off unconstitutional and outright ridiculous spending by USAID that was uncovered by DOGE, and your Republican colleagues all stood up with you, and they all clapped and cheered Trump's call for cutting that spending. You called to make those cuts permanent, but on May 7, Speaker Johnson canceled a crucial vote to slash $9.4 billion in unconstitutional spending, including $8.3 billion for USAID and $1.1 billion for the government's propaganda broadcasting station PBS, as well as NPR. So how is it that Speaker Johnson can get a free pass for neutralizing the DOGE agenda, but you don't get one for actually being true to what voters originally voted for by wanting to slash all this waste and fraud?

Massie: Well, that was a surreal moment for me at the State of the Union when my colleagues who funded all of this stuff stood up and clapped when Trump said he was going to cut the things that they funded. The next surreal moment came when we passed the continuing resolution to fund it all again. This is after the State of the Union, and then the president got mad at me for not wanting to do a continuing resolution that funded everything that Joe Biden had funded the year before. But now, I thought, the ace that we have up our sleeve is we can do rescissions. So even though we funded USAID and NPR

USAID
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
Funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), through the Community Support Program in Lebanon (CSP)

Wasteful: Two weeks before the House passed the "One Big Beautiful Bill," Speaker Johnson cancelled a crucial vote to slash $8.3 billion for USAID, following DOGE's findings of massive fraud and waste by the unconstitutional agency.

AP Images



Keeping score: Twice a year, *The New American* publishes the Freedom Index, which rates all members of Congress on their fidelity to the Constitution. Since Massie assumed office in 2012, he has earned a 99-percent lifetime score.

and PBS, the parts of it we don't like, ostensibly, in the continuing resolution, we could undo that with 51 votes in the Senate, which makes it easier than most bills, which take 60 votes, with something called rescissions.

Speaker Johnson is now pointing the finger at the White House and saying that they have to send him the request for the rescissions, which is true. But nobody's taking responsibility for this request not coming across. I think what's happening is Speaker Johnson is saying, "Don't send me the request, because that starts some time clock over here and we have to vote on it within 45 days once you send those requests for rescissions." And that's because you have Republicans who, even though they clapped at the State of the Union to get rid of this stuff, they secretly want it still to be funded. And my point is, let's just find something, find one of these rescissions. The rescissions are not like the reconciliation. Reconciliation is the One Big Beautiful Bill that's got everything and the kitchen sink in it. But [with] rescissions, you can do as many rescissions as you want. We name post offices up here every week; we could vote on a rescission every week, [starting] with the easy ones. Start with training wheels on. Start playing T-ball. Do the easy stuff, the stuff that's obvious waste, fraud, or abuse. And put those on the floor and cut them.

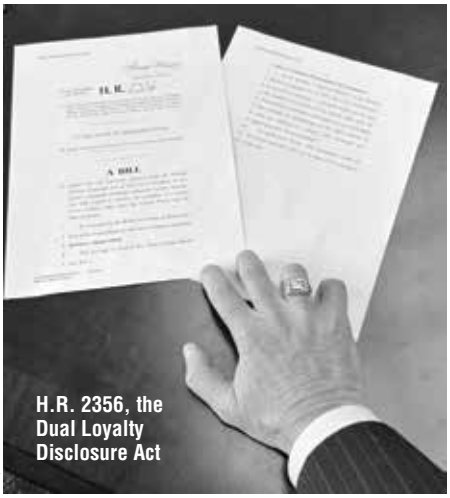
TNA: Twice a year, *The New American* magazine produces and publishes the Freedom Index, which rates all members of Congress on their fidelity to the Constitution and Americanist principles of liberty, based on how they voted on the 10 most important votes in the House and Senate since the publication of the previous Freedom Index. Six of those 10 votes are in turn used to produce what we call the Congressional Scorecard, which is similar to our Legislative Scorecard that rates members of state legislatures on how they vote. We've been making the Freedom Index [and its precursor the Conservative Index] scorecard since the 1970s. For the entire time you've been in Congress, you have garnered a lifetime Freedom Index score of 99 percent, which is virtually a perfect score for over 12 years, and most of the time you actually do get a 100-percent score. What is the secret to you being consistent and not caving to the pressure in Washington?

Massie: Well, let me tell you one of the interesting things about your scorecard that's different from some organizations, and if you don't mind, I'll mention their names. They're good conservative organizations (not as good as yours). But Club for Growth and Heritage [Foundation] — two names you may have heard of before — they announce the votes that they're going to score before the vote happens. We take hundreds of votes here in a year and you can only score, maybe, you know, 10 or 20 of those. Well, when the organizations announce which ones you're going to [be rated] on, it's pretty easy to get a good score, because you just vote right when they announce which way they want you to vote. Your scorecard is unannounced. I like that about it. Nobody can know which ones you're going to score because you don't tell us ahead of time. So, I think it's a better indicator of how your legislator votes when they aren't told, when they're not being watched.

I think you just follow the Constitution, honestly. There's a lot of things here that we're doing that sound like good ideas, but they should be state laws, not federal laws. And there are some things here that have no constitutional basis. Article I enumerates the powers of Congress. If it's not in there, we shouldn't be doing it. So that's sort of my guiding post. Is it constitutional? Can we afford it? And is this better done at the state and local level or the federal level? Those are my three litmus tests.

TNA: On March 26, you introduced H.R. 2356, the Dual Loyalty Disclosure Act, which would require candidates for federal office to, at the very least, disclose if they have citizenship in another country. How widespread is this issue in the current Congress?

Massie: Well, we can't know how widespread it is because nobody reports it. Nobody self-reports. Now, occasionally, you have people who run for president, and this surfaces. There are two examples that I know of where people renounced their citizenship. They were members of Congress, in the Senate, and they ran for president, and we found out they were dual citizens. They renounced that. And they were both Republicans. I'm not going to pick on them right now. But here in Congress, I suspect there could be a dozen, two dozen people who all enjoy dual citizenship. And what I'm saying with this bill is not that you can't run for Congress; I'm saying let the voters decide. So it's a requirement, just like when you run for Congress, you have to disclose your financial assets so that the voters can decide whether that should be disqualifying or not. Let's say you have a lot of stock in a pharmaceutical company or a military contracting company. That doesn't disqualify you from running for Congress, but you have to disclose that on your financial disclosure when you run for Congress. We're just saying add another box on the disclosure when you run for Congress that says, "Which



H.R. 2356, the Dual Loyalty Disclosure Act

RepThomasMassie/X.com

countries are you citizens of?" Because I think it does create a conflict of interest if you are a citizen of another country. Or, if you've got one foot out the door, how do we know you're putting America first if you could just get on a plane and go to another country if things don't go well here? You should be all in for this country. Honestly, I think you should just be a citizen of one country if you're going to be an elected official here in the federal government.

TNA: The last time we spoke, you had just reintroduced your Audit the Fed bill, and shortly thereafter you reintroduced the Federal Reserve Board Abolition Act, or H.R. 1846, for the current, 119th Congress. The Constitution makes no provision for a central bank. And the last time we had one it was the second central bank, which was abolished by President Andrew Jackson, whom President Trump greatly admires. Do you think that Trump would get behind your bill to abolish the Federal Reserve? Why or why not?

Massie: You know, I had a constituent ask me about that in Kentucky the other day, and they said, actually, he probably would rather have the lever to set interest rates over there. Instead of abolishing it, I think he'd rather run it and set the interest rates. He's definitely weighed in on what he thinks the Fed chairman and the board should do at various times. I think the free market should decide. And here's an interesting thing that's happening right now: I alluded to the bond rates. The markets are setting these rates presently. It used to be the case that the Federal Reserve could name their price on interest rates, but that's not the case anymore. They've tried to name their price, let's say three percent or four percent. And they find that nobody wants to buy our debt at those rates of return. So, the market forces are coming into play here. But we should just abolish it. I'm not sure that the president would abolish it. He's gotten behind another one of my bills, which is to abolish the federal Department of Education and return the power back to the states and school boards, parents, and teachers. But I haven't heard him saying we should abolish the Federal Reserve yet. I have heard him say what they should be doing over there.

TNA: Has there been any push in Congress from either President Trump or Speaker Johnson to get your bill to abolish the Department of Education moving?

Massie: There hasn't been from the president or from the speaker. I was able to force a vote on it when Kevin McCarthy [R-Calif.] was speaker, and we got like 161 or 164 Republicans that voted for it. When I forced that vote, it was as an amendment to some other bill, when I was on the Rules Committee. I think if you had the vote now, we would do a lot better because the president is behind it. I'd love to see a vote, at least a vote on it here. And in the absence of a vote, if your member says they would vote for it, tell them to go ahead and sponsor it and that it's okay now because the president says we should abolish [the department] as well.

TNA: Representative Tom Tiffany of Wisconsin introduced a resolution withdrawing approval of the agreement establishing the World Trade Organization, H.J. Res 93. Many advocates of free trade don't realize that virtually all of the modern so-called free trade agreements made among countries are actually done under the auspices of the WTO. In fact, the term "WTO" appears 87 times in the 1,889-page United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA). Why doesn't the U.S. pursue commerce and friendship with other nations without the oversight of a global regulatory body such as the WTO?

Massie: We don't need an oversight body over this country. I can't find any authority for the WTO to exist or have a bearing on our government in my copy of the Constitution. And you know what's interesting? Whether you agree with Trump or not on tariffs, he's doing all of these as bilateral trade agreements instead of multilateral trade agreements. Here is the problem with multilateral trade agreements — like

Tom Tiffany

AP Images

some Pacific trade agreement, or some Atlantic trade agreement, or NAFTA, or the USMCA, whichever multilateral agreement that you sign onto — who's going to adjudicate that? Well, they set up these courts that aren't the Supreme Court. They're allegedly higher than the Supreme Court. They're things like the World Trade Organization that arbitrate the arguments between these countries. And the brilliant thing about what Trump is doing now, whether you agree with tariffs or not, is he's going one country at a time. He's not saying we're part of some giant group that he doesn't have authority or sovereignty over or that our country doesn't. He's saying, "We're going to cut a deal with you, China; India, we're going to have another deal with you. We're going to have a deal here." That's actually the way you should be doing these trade agreements, and you don't need a WTO. In fact, I witnessed Congress be subservient to the WTO when they ruled that we had to take country-of-origin labeling off of beef and pork in the United States. They told Congress to jump, and Congress said, how high? And we voted here, roughly in 2015, to get rid of country-of-origin labeling, because the WTO told us to, because we lost some court ruling in some international court that's extra-constitutional. It's not unconstitutional because it's not inside of this country, it's outside of this country. It's not constitutional. We should get rid of the WTO. We should definitely get ourselves out of it and just do bilateral trade agreements with everybody. And then you don't need a WTO.

Here's the interesting thing about Tom Tiffany's bill: It's an H.J. Res., which means it's a joint resolution. It begins in the House, but it would be signed also in the Senate and go to the president, and it would have the force of law. But when they passed the World Trade Organization, the agreement that allows us to participate in that says any member of Congress can force a vote on this every five years or six years, something like that. And this is that year. Tom Tiffany can force a vote on this. And that's why I decided to support him on this. I hope he does force the vote, because at that moment — and I hope you can score that one on your scorecard — at that moment, you'll get a glimpse into whether your congressmen believe we're a sovereign country and that the highest court is the Supreme Court, or whether they believe that we report to people that aren't elected and to judges who aren't in our Constitution.

TNA: In keeping with *The New American's* tradition of not telling members of Congress what we're going to score and not score, I cannot confirm or deny that we will score that vote.

Massie: I'll work with Tiffany to try to make sure that vote happens.

TNA: Sounds good. Congressman Massie, thank you so much for your time. And of course, we pray for your safety, your well-being. And we wish you the best of luck down there as you try to keep the swamp at bay. Thank you so much Congressman Massie.

Massie: All right. It's [been] an exciting week here. So thanks for praying for us. ■

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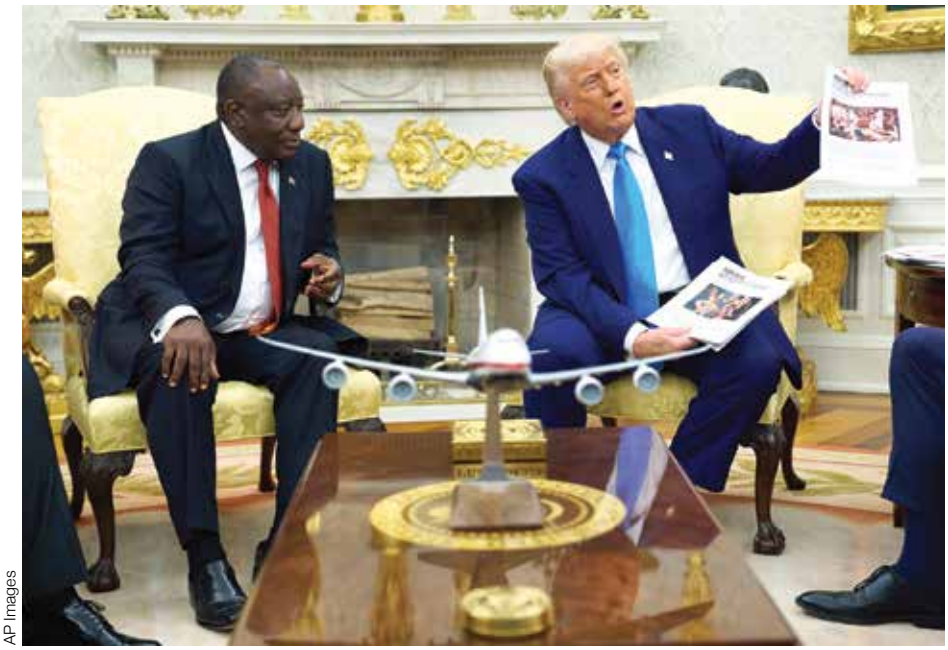
TRUMP EXPOSES SOUTH AFRICA'S GENOCIDE

President Donald Trump is one world leader not afraid to draw attention to the genocide taking place against white farmers in South Africa.



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In the hot seat: President Donald Trump put South Africa President Cyril Ramaphosa on the spot during a televised meeting at the White House when he showed evidence of the brutal murders of white South African farmers.

by Alex Newman

U.S. President Donald Trump took South African President Cyril Ramaphosa to task on May 21 over the ongoing brutality, racism, discrimination, murder, and genocide targeting the European-descent Afrikaner community. The media and left-wing governments promptly went into damage-control mode, but the exposure was massive worldwide. The scene came as Afrikaner refugees were beginning to trickle into the United States.

Alex Newman is a senior editor of The New American and *author of* Deep State: The Invisible Government Behind the Scenes *and* Indoctrinating Our Children to Death.

In the face of feigned ignorance by Ramaphosa and much of the global news media, Trump used a TV screen to show ghastly scenes of bloodthirsty South African political leaders calling for the slaughter of the embattled minority group. The scenes shocked observers worldwide.

The leaders shown in the video included Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) boss Julius Malema, a member of Parliament and former youth leader of the ruling African National Congress (ANC). "Shoot the Boer [white farmer], pow!" he screeched repeatedly in the video — one of several in which he was shown expressing homicidal sentiments against South Africa's white minority.

The far-left ANC, a revolutionary group long controlled by members of the murderous South African Communist Party, was closely allied with the Soviet Union during the first phase of South Africa's "revolution" — a revolution also backed by the powerful Deep State forces in the West. Its leaders have been singing the genocide songs for years.

Heated Confrontation

During the heated confrontation in the Oval Office, Trump also showed footage of then-President Jacob Zuma of the ANC singing the songs, too. "Bring me my machine gun, we're going to shoot the Boer," the polygamous ruler sang as troops danced frantically in front of him. He promised that his cabinet would also massacre Afrikaner farmers.

The U.S. president expressed shock at the videos. "When you look at the videos, I mean, how does it get worse? And these are people that are [government] officials, and they're saying 'kill the white farmer and take their land,'" Trump explained to the bewildered Ramaphosa.

Trump also highlighted various news reports from around the world documenting some of the carnage, including recent reports of murders. "These are articles over the last few days — a death of people, death, death, horrible death, death, death," the U.S. leader told his South African counterpart, showing the headlines and the stack of papers to the camera. "I'll give these to you. So when you say, 'What would you like to do?' I don't know what to do for this — white South African couples say that they were attacked violently. Look, here's burial sites all over the place."

Trump also showed footage of white crosses lining a roadway, each one in honor of a murdered farmer or family member. There is a monument to *Plassmoorde*, the

AP Images

Incitement: Here Economic Freedom Fighters founder Julius Malema (holding microphone) leads a massive crowd in his chant "Shoot the Boer!... Shoot to kill!"

Afrikaans term for farm murder, that this magazine featured on the cover in 2012, with each cross representing an Afrikaner victim of a farm murder. The South African strongman claimed not to know where or what that was.

Media Malpractice

The remarks by Trump followed similar concerns expressed earlier in May when an outraged "journalist" asked him about his decision to expedite the arrival of Afrikaner refugees into the United States. The U.S. president issued a blistering rebuke of the media and South African authorities then, too. "We're having a G20 meeting, but I don't know how we can go unless that situation is taken care of," the president explained. "It's a genocide that's taking place that you people [journalists and reporters] don't want to write about, but it's a terrible thing that's taking place."

"Farmers are being killed," added Trump. "They happen to be white, but whether they're white or black makes no difference to me. But white farmers are being brutally killed, and their land is being confiscated in South Africa." Indeed, South Africa's Parliament recently legalized the theft of land, calling it "expropriation without compensation." And yet, the "fake news," as Trump calls the media, continues its desperate attempt to cover it all up or justify it using blatant factual errors such as the claim that Afrikaners own "most" of the land in South Africa. In reality, they own less than 20 percent — less than the government owns — and much of it is desert-like.

Trump again blasted the media. "The newspapers and the media — television media — doesn't even talk about it," added the U.S. president about the situation. "If it were the other way around, they'd talk about it. That would be the only story they would talk about." Addressing insinuations by the left-wing media of racism, Trump hit back. "And I don't care who they are — I don't care about the race, their color — I don't care about their height, their weight," he said. "I just know that what's happening is terrible. I have people that live in South Africa, they say it's a terrible situation taking place."

Tragedy in South Africa

Ramaphosa responded in the White House with the now-tired claim that violence and crime affect all South Africans. Of course, that is absolutely true — under ANC-Communist rule, South Africa has become one of the most violent, unequal, and murderous societies on Earth. But the fact that Afrikaners, and especially Boer farmers, are being specifically targeted has been indisputable for more than a decade.

As this writer warned in a 2012 cover story for *The New American*, the world's top genocide expert, Dr. Gregory Stanton, head of the nonprofit group Genocide Watch, went on a fact-finding mission and brought the receipts. Among other conclusions, Dr. Stanton — known in the 1990s as an anti-apartheid activist — found that Afrikaners were on the verge of being exterminated. "There is thus strong circumstantial evidence of government support for the campaign of forced displacement and atrocities against White farmers and their families," Genocide Watch said in its report at the time. "There is direct evidence of SA [South African] government incitement to genocide."

According to experts and estimates compiled by citizens who track the killing spree, at least 3,000 white farmers in South Africa, known as Boers (from the Dutch word for "farmer"), were brutally massacred over the decade preceding that mission by Stanton. Some estimates put the figures even higher, but it is hard to know as authorities hide the truth.

It is worse than "regular" murder, though. Many of the victims, including the elderly, women, children, and even infants, are raped or savagely tortured or both before being executed or left for dead. Sometimes boiling water is poured down their throats or they are filled with holes using electric drills. Other attacks involve burning victims with hot irons or slicing them up with machetes. In more than a few cases, the targets have been tied to their own cars and dragged along dirt roads for miles. Oftentimes, Bible pages or Bibles are left on the desecrated bodies.

This writer documented many of these atrocities and trends more recently in an episode of *Behind the Deep State* for *The New American*. That video, first published more than five years ago, offers some of the real history as well as smoking-gun evidence that Afrikaners are being targeted.

The U.S. government has already started welcoming some refugees from there, drawing the ire of far-left media outlets

and extremists. Dozens have already arrived, and more are set to come soon. The same day Trump clashed with Ramaphosa, *The New American* released an interview with an Afrikaner seeking asylum in the United States who told horror stories of the violence and discrimination.

The "new" South Africa is a disaster for European-descent Afrikaners facing racism, violence, and discrimination, explained Afrikaner grandmother and refugee Lize Kleynhans, a widow with three sons and a new grandbaby. Among other concerns, she highlighted some of the horrific crimes targeting white South Africans, including multiple incidents affecting her family. It took years for her youngest son to be able to sleep through the night in America after seeing top political leaders chanting for his death on TV. But she is grateful to be in America now. "I can't say enough good things, we feel so welcome here," she said.

"Not Government Policy"

At the White House, Ramaphosa tried to distance himself from the murderous rhetoric of his compatriots and political allies. "That is not government policy," he said. "We have a multi-party democracy in South Africa that allows people to express themselves, and in many cases, or in some cases, those policies do not go along with government policy."

The South African leader, who famously called for boiling the nation's Afrikaner population slowly like frogs, also claimed his government stands against the attacks being stirred up by officials. "Our government policy is completely, completely against what he was saying, even in the parliament, and a small minority party, which is allowed to exist in terms of our Constitution," Ramaphosa added dishonestly, as if Malema were a lone nut rather than a former senior official with the ANC who enjoys broad support.

The controversial South African president, whose regime has become a close ally of communist and Islamist tyrants around the world, was in the United States to try to salvage the longtime relationship with the U.S. government. He even brought a couple of notoriously left-wing token Afrikaners for the cameras.

No More Foreign Aid

But Trump did not let up. Citing concerns about the genocide facing European-descent farmers, among other issues, Trump has cut off foreign aid to the South African regime. He has also suggested that he will not attend the upcoming G20 summit set to take place there if action is not taken to correct the injustices.

Of course, he sparked an outcry among South Africa's political class after drawing attention to the horrors facing the Afrikaner community. Afrikaner activists who raised the alarm are being targeted, too, in some cases being labeled "traitors." Elon Musk, a South African immigrant to the United States, was among those in the Oval Office amid the historic scene on May 21. Musk is said to be one of the individuals close to the president encouraging him to speak out on the issue. Anti-Afrikaner forces are on the warpath against him.

Past Is Prelude

As far back as the 1980s, *The New American* was warning about what was coming: exactly what is happening today. Perhaps most horrifically, it was obvious even then, as we pointed out repeatedly, that powerful subversives in the United States were essential to South Africa's genocidal agenda. As this writer documented in a companion article to the 2012 cover story on genocide, members of the Council on Foreign Relations were critical to the revolution's success.

Since Trump showed the world from the White House what is happening in today's South Africa, it will be very difficult for the far-left global media and the South African regime to continue pretending nothing is going on. But that does not mean they will not try, as the day's headlines and the endless "fact check" articles by the media have shown.

Perhaps more importantly, though, Americans must understand that the communist revolution in South Africa that is now devouring the largely Christian Afrikaner minority is merely a template — the model that inspired former President Barack Obama to get involved in politics, by his own admission. In fact, what is happening in South Africa is a sneak preview of what awaits Americans and other liberty-minded Western peoples if they do not wake up and stop it. Liberty and Christian civilization depend on understanding South Africa's revolution — and stopping the process in the West before it becomes irreversible. ■

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Advocate: Tech billionaire and South African immigrant Elon Musk has been drawing attention to the plight of white South Africans in recent years.

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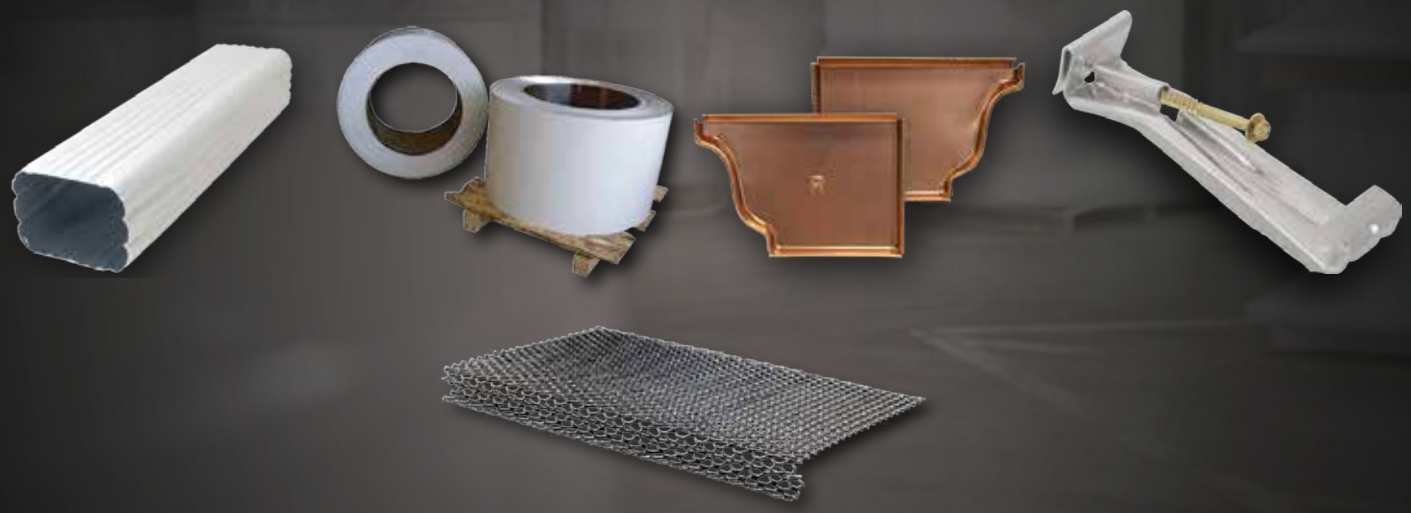

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WHICH WAY, LEO?

by William F. Jasper

Since his election on May 8, Pope Leo XIV (Cardinal Robert Francis Prevost) has been the subject of endless and contentious speculation by Catholics, non-Catholics, and anti-Catholics alike. Is he progressive, liberal, moderate, conservative, or traditionalist? Where will he stand on moral issues (LGBTQ matters, divorce, marriage, abortion, euthanasia)? Where will he come down on political-social issues (immigration, borders, socialism, capitalism, liberation theology, communism, China)? What about ecclesiastical governance issues ("Bergoglian synodalism," women deacons, "collegiality," clerical sex scandals)? Environmental issues (climate change, *Laudato Si'*)? Doctrinal issues (salvation, ecumenism)? Liturgical issues (Traditional Latin Mass, liturgical craziness, pagan adaptations)? And much more.

Analysts on both the Right and the Left did quick dives into the background and social-media posts of the little-known Robert Prevost as priest-bishop-cardinal to divine where he might lead the Catholic Church. As it turns out, there is something for everyone, and the spin doctors of the Right, Left, and center have had a field day predicting that Pope Leo will go this way or that.

Cheers, Jeers, and Fears

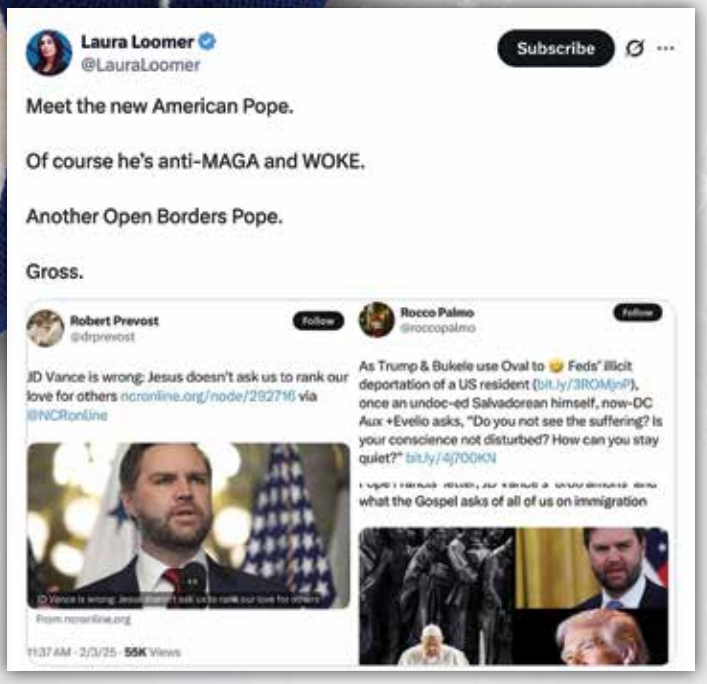
The top contender among the *papabile*, according to the commonly quoted Vatican handicappers, was Cardinal Pietro Parolin, Francis' secretary of state. Although typically described as a "moderate" by the media, Parolin was viewed by most knowledgeable observers as an uber-liberal in the mold of Francis. He is an enthusiastic advocate of Francis' radical vision for a "synodal church" and was generally expected by all sides, if elected pope, to be "Francis 2.0."

Parolin's failure to accede to the papal throne was cause for great relief to many Catholics, this writer included. However, Parolin was not the only Bergoglian in the running for the petrine office. Cardinal Luis Antonio Tagle of the Philippines, Cardinal Peter Turkson of Ghana, Cardinal Matteo Zuppi of Italy, Cardinal Mario Grech of Malta, Cardinal Jean-Claude Hollerich of Luxembourg, and any of a number of additional "progressive" candidates might have proven even worse choices than Parolin.

Cardinal Robert Francis Prevost of Chicago (by way of a long missionary stint in Peru) was a dark horse who didn't rank high, or at all, on many *papabile* lists. Consequently, there was much less publicly available information on him than on the higher-profile candidates mentioned above. There was initial cheering on the Left when his past tweets and retweets that were critical of U.S. President Donald Trump's policies surfaced. Prevost's support of migration especially endeared him to the migrant lobby, but some of his past statements opposing same-sex blessings, transgender indoctrination, and ordination of women threw a cold blanket on the party. Ardor for Leo on the Left started to decline.

On the Right, opinion on Pope Leo has been divided from the get-

William F. Jasper is a senior editor of The New American.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go. Right out of the starting gate, some Catholic (and non-Catholic) conservatives/traditionalists blasted him, while others praised him, or offered guarded optimism. MAGA influencer and internet firebrand Laura Loomer was quick to make this announcement on her X account on May 8: "Meet the new American Pope. Of course he's anti-MAGA and WOKE. Another Open Borders Pope. Gross." In another X post she denounced him as a "MARXIST POPE!"

Former Trump advisor Steve Bannon, host of the popular *War Room* podcast, has been one of the Catholic influencers most critical of Pope Leo, and his daily lineup of guests and co-hosts seem to share his anti-Leo perspective. "I mean it's kind of jaw-dropping," Bannon told the BBC one day after Leo's election. "It is shocking to me that a guy could be selected to be the Pope that had had the Twitter feed and the statements he's had against American senior politicians," he continued, predicting that there's "definitely going to be friction" between Leo and Trump. In subsequent shows he referred to the papal conclave vote as more "rigged" than the 2020 U.S. presidential election. Cardinal Prevost, he claimed, is the "worst pick for MAGA Catholics." "This is an anti-Trump vote by the globalists that run the Curia — this is the pope Bergoglio and his clique wanted," said Bannon.

One of Bannon's frequent commentators and his primary Vatican correspondent for *War Room* is the Rome-based Ben Harnwell, who is an unrelenting critic of Pope Leo. "This guy has been massively embraced by the liberals and the progressives," said Harnwell. "He is one of their own…. He has [Pope] Francis's DNA in him." He warns that "Leo may be even more dangerous than Bergoglio" because "he has every indication to be just like Francis on the agenda but is far more subtle."

Not So Fast: Wait and See

Not all traditionalists in the Catholic "tradosphere" are so quick to write Pope Leo off to perdition. In fact, prominent traditional Catholics have vigorously rebuked their fellow trads for jumping the gun on condemnation. Perhaps foremost among these "Patience, please!" trads is Catholic journalist Michael Matt, editor of *The Remnant* newspaper, host of the *Remnant Underground* podcast, and host of the annual Catholic Identity Conference.

In one podcast after another since the conclave, Matt has called on fellow conservatives and traditionalists to "cool it" regarding the attacks on Pope Leo — at least until he clearly embarks on a Bergoglian path. He acknowledges that some of the new pope's post-conclave remarks — on Pope Francis, migration, and synodality, for instance — are troubling, but shouldn't be the signal to freak out because Pope Leo is also sending signals that he may be striking a different path from that of Francis, even while using much of his predecessor's rhetoric.

About those positive signals Pope Leo has sent: There are many, the significance of which may not be recognized by non-Catholics, such as his eschewing of Pope Francis' false humility in his papal attire and papal domicile. Returning to papal tradition, Pope Leo wore the red *mozzetta* (elbow-length cape) when appearing on the loggia following his election and announced that he will be moving back into the traditional papal apartment abandoned by Francis. And, among other welcome signs to traditionalists, he sang the *Regina Coeli* prayer in Latin during his first Sunday address to pilgrims in St. Peter's Square, reintroduced Latin in his first Mass as pope, blessed the journalists at his first press conference with a Latin benediction, praised the Catholic Eastern rites for preserving their beautiful liturgical traditions, prayed for the persecuted Church in China, replaced the scandal-ridden Archbishop Vincenzo Paglia as president of the Pontifical Academy for Life, and, in his first meeting with the Vatican diplomatic corps, reaffirmed the traditional Catholic teaching on marriage, abortion, and euthanasia.

These and other positive signals are cause for hope, without naively believing that Pope Leo is about to initiate a counterrevolution to Vatican II.

Michael Matt is far from alone. Among the conservative and traditional Catholic intellectuals, influencers, publications, and websites who are noting Pope Leo's overtures to Catholic tradition and taking a cautious (and charitable) optimism toward his young papacy are Dr. Peter Kwasniewski, Dr. Taylor Marshall, Raymond Arroyo, Dr. Anthony Stine, Robert Royal, *Catholic Family News*, Matt Walsh, *U.S. Grace Force* podcast, Patrick Coffin, Professor Roberto de Mattei, Edward Pentin, Philip Lawler, Dr. Robert Moynihan, Joe McClane, John-Henry Westen, Jesse Romero, John Yep, Terry Barber, and Doug Barry. In addition to these lay Catholics, respected clerics such as Bishop Joseph Strickland, Cardinal Raymond Burke, Cardinal Gerhard Müller, Cardinal William Goh Seng Chye, Archbishop Salvatore Cordileone, Bishop Athanasius Schneider, Fr. Gerald Murray, Fr. Charles Murr, Fr. Chris Alar, and many others have expressed the opinion that Pope Leo is more likely to be a unifier and a "bridge builder," as opposed to "Francis the Merciful" who talked a good game about "listening," "accompaniment," and "inclusivity" while acting like a spiteful autocrat toward those who did not share his leftist ideology.

With an Augustinian bishop now occupying the Chair of Peter, faithful Catholics are being encouraged to harken to that famous maxim of St. Augustine: "Pray as though everything depended on God. Work as though everything depended on you." ■

AP Images

A REPUBLICAN POPE?

by Rebecca Terrell

"Habemus papam" headlines burst to the fore on May 8, announcing the former Cardinal Robert Francis Prevost as Catholicism's 267th pope — the first from the United States. Conjectures about this long-shot candidate quickly followed: Who is the man now known as Pope Leo XIV, and what will his papacy be like?

His red-and-blue voting record in Illinois primaries reveals little. Social-media defenders highlight his pro-life record and his staunch opposition to women's ordination to the priesthood, while naysayers repost his numerous tweets bearing left-leaning messages and criticizing Trump's immigration policies. So, is he a liberal or a conservative?

"He's not going to be real far left, and he's not going to be real far right," his elder brother, John, predicted in an interview with The Associated Press. "Kind of right down the middle." But he also said his brother will likely be a "second Pope Francis."

What a contradiction! The late pontiff was anything but a centrist. Right out of the gate he denounced free market economics in his 2013 apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*. In support of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, his Vatican hosted several major climate-change conferences between 2015 and 2024. His infamous "Who am I to judge?" comment in support of unspeakable alphabet-soup perversions earned him the acclaim and admiration of radical leftists, and in 2023 he gave approval for Catholic priests to bless sodomitical unions. Conservative media have dubbed the ongoing Synod on Synodality "Pope Francis' revolution" and "a hostile takeover of the Catholic Church."

This same Francis repeatedly promoted Prevost and handpicked him to be a potential successor by appointing him cardinal in 2023. In a hat tip to his predecessor, the new pontiff greeted the cheering faithful in St. Peter's Square by endorsing Francis' destructive legacy, saying, "We want to be a synodal church."

He is also an active promoter of Francis' scandalous encyclical *Laudato Si'*, an environmental screed in which the pontiff quoted his predecessor, Benedict XVI, calling for totalitarian world government:

> To manage the global economy … to bring about integral and timely disarmament, food security and peace; to guarantee the protection of the environment and to regulate migration: for all this, there is urgent need of a true world political authority.

Francis timed that encyclical to help promote the 2015 Paris Climate Conference, and his acolyte fell in lockstep. "The planet needs us," Prevost tweeted, posting a photo of Catholics carrying a *Laudato Si'* banner. He followed with a tweet that read, "SIGN

Rebecca Terrell is a senior editor of The New American.

Pope Leo XIII

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THE CLIMATE PETITION," and included a link to the Laudato Si' Movement's effort to garner one million Catholic signatures in support of the Paris Agreement.

Another Leo?

Despite these radical globalist appetites, his religious fellows insist that Leo XIV will chart his own course. His Peruvian friend, Father Francis Galvan, told Inquirer.net, "He's a canon lawyer and an Augustinian. In doctrine, he'll be firm. But like Pope Francis, he'll promote Catholic social teaching and the *preferential option for the poor*." (Emphasis added; more on this later.)

Galvan points to Prevost's choice of papal name as proof. "Everyone expected Francis II or Benedict XVII. But Leo? That's bold. It recalls Pope Leo XIII and Rerum Novarum — the Church's foundational teaching on workers and social justice."

The choice of papal name is indeed considered the signal of a newly elected pope about the legacy he plans to perpetuate. Prevost's eponym reigned over the Church from 1878 until his death in 1903, and the popular narrative presupposes Leo XIII to be a black-and-white version of his Technicolor namesake. While quick to cite his encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, few bother to actually read it or to report its contents honestly.

Leo XIII was vehemently anti-socialist and anti-communist at the end of a century when Enlightenment-inspired revolutions had swept across Europe, destroying traditional institutions and making war on the Church. His predecessor, Pope Pius IX, had been forced to flee the Vatican in disguise because members of the radical Carbonari sought his life. They had already murdered two of his advisors and surrounded the papal residence with armed mobs, reminiscent of France's Reign of Terror (and prophetic of devastating Soros-funded riots of more recent memory).

Likewise financed by the international banking cartel, such 19th-century astroturfing destroyed established governments across the Continent and inserted secular "republics," poised to exploit the commoners they claimed to champion. The average person was thereby completely deprived of the Christian state framework that had until then defended him against exploitation by its enemies.

Rerum Novarum was Leo XIII's answer to these chaos agents. In it he called them "crafty agitators" who "pervert men's judgments" and "stir up the people to revolt." He wrote the encyclical to "refute [their] false teaching" and defend the "Christian constitution of the State." Throughout the document, his repeated solution to all societal ills is to be found in Christendom rather than in a secular, godless, globalist organization established by the philosophical descendants of the Illuminati. It's a damning indictment of his later successors who instead invoke the United Nations, thereby subordinating the Church to her adversary.

Modern "social justice" warriors despicably mischaracterize Leo XIII by labeling him their progenitor, falsely attributing to him phrases such as "preferential option for the poor," a cornerstone of Marxist liberation theology developed in the 1960s. It is repeated in the United Nations' Agenda 2030 Sustainable Development Goal #1, which calls for the eradication of "poverty in all its forms everywhere." The teaching is popular in Leo XIV's adopted country, Peru, and he is likely influenced by it, as Galvan approvingly noted.

On the contrary, Pope Leo XIII condemned socialism. He instead called for "justice," which Plato defines in his *Republic* as "giving someone his due." In Leo's words:

> Socialists, therefore, by endeavoring to transfer the possessions of individuals to the community at large, strike at the interests of every wage-earner, since they would deprive him of the liberty of disposing of his wages, and thereby of all hope and possibility of increasing his resources and of bettering his condition in life. What is of far greater moment, however, is the fact that the remedy they propose is manifestly against justice. For, every man has by nature the right to possess property as his own.

Adding the modernist qualifier "social" to "justice" renders the opposite meaning: giving to another that which he has *not* earned. When done voluntarily, it is known as charity. But when done under compulsion by a godless state, we call it socialism or theft.

Unfortunately, it's unlikely that Leo XIV will expose this doublespeak. He has said publicly that he chose his name "mainly because [*Rerum Novarum*] addressed the social question in the context of the first great industrial revolution," adding in parallel that he is leading the Church through "another industrial revolution."

His acknowledgment of Klaus Schwab's Fourth Industrial Revolution — with no condemnation of its perpetrators or warnings to his flock of the dangers — does little to inspire confidence. Whatever his future course, however, one thing is certain: The new pontiff will either serve the Establishment or the Church. No man can serve two masters. ■

QUICK QUOTES

"Hence, it is clear that the main tenet of socialism, community of goods, must be utterly rejected, since it only injures those whom it would seem meant to benefit, is directly contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and would introduce confusion and disorder into the commonweal."

Pope Leo XIII, Rerum Novarum*, May 15, 1891, §15*

"The socialists, therefore, in setting aside the parent and setting up a State supervision, act against natural justice, and destroy the structure of the home."

Pope Leo XIII, Rerum Novarum*, May 15, 1891, §14*

"You understand, venerable brethren, that We speak of that sect of men who, under various and almost barbarous names, are called socialists, communists, or nihilists, and who, spread over all the world and bound together by the closest ties in a wicked confederacy, no longer seek the shelter of secret meetings, but, openly and boldly marching forth in the light of day, strive to bring to a head what they have long been planning — the overthrow of all civil society whatsoever."

Pope Leo XIII, Quod Apostolici Muneris*, December 28, 1878, §1*

"But [socialist] contentions are so clearly powerless to end the controversy that were they carried into effect the working man himself would be among the first to suffer. They are, moreover, emphatically unjust, for they would rob the lawful possessor, distort the functions of the State, and create utter confusion in the community."

Pope Leo XIII, Rerum Novarum*, May 15, 1891, §4*

"The authority of God is passed over in silence, just as if there were no God; or as if He cared nothing for human society; or as if men, whether in their individual capacity or bound together in social relations, owed nothing to God; or as if there could be a government of which the whole origin and power and authority did not reside in God Himself. Thus, as is evident, a State becomes nothing but a multitude which is its own master and ruler. And since the people is declared to contain within itself the spring-head of all rights and of all power, it follows that the State does not consider itself bound by any kind of duty toward God."

Pope Leo XIII, Immortale Dei*, November 1, 1885, §25*

— Compiled by Rebecca Terrell

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Minding Our Own Business

American foreign policy has moved away from the prudent non-interventionism of the Founders to the present policy of global police action and empire-building.

by Steve Bonta

This article was originally published in The New American *for March 11, 2002, not long after the 9/11 terrorist attacks on our country. At the time, as author Steve Bonta noted, the opinion cartel was saying that we must abandon "isolationism." They're saying the same today, amid growing fears of nuclear war. But the principles undergirding the Founders' noninterventionist foreign policy have not changed, and this article is as relevant as ever.*
— The Editors

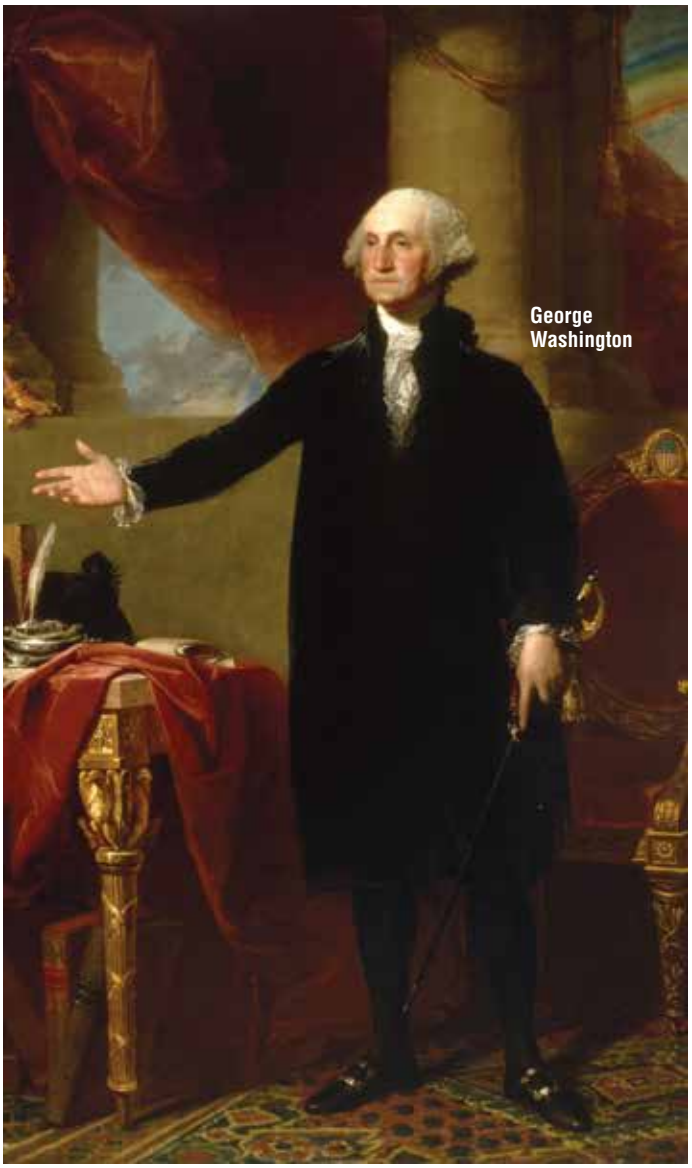
If you allow a political catchword to go on and grow, you will awaken some day to find it standing over you, the arbiter of your destiny, against which you are powerless, as men are powerless against delusions.

— William Graham Sumner

Since September 11th [2001], the manufacturers of public opinion have written epitaphs for isolationism. "Farewell to isolationism," ran one typical entry in a recent *Newsweek* article entitled "The Death of a Founding Myth." "The terrorist attacks permanently altered America's self-identity. We must now embrace the global community we ourselves built." Robert Kagan, the *Washington Post's* "world columnist," wrote on January 29th [2002] that "Sept. 11th must spur us to launch a new era of American internationalism. Let's not squander this opportunity."

On the contemporary political scene, nothing provokes more quivering indignation than the heresy of "isolationism." To be accused of "isolationism" is to be exiled, with "conspiracy theorists," "racists" and "homophobes," to the outer darkness of official irrelevancy. It wasn't always so. There was a time when the sentiment now derided as "isolationist" had leverage in American politics. Elected leaders and citizens alike once understood the imprudence of meddling in foreign quarrels. But America has moved away from the Founders' prudent non-interventionism to our modern-day policy of open-ended, worldwide militarism, a policy that is transforming the United States from a republic to an empire and earning the ill will of peoples who once admired our freedom and prosperity.

Soon after the founding of the United States, during the administration of President Washington, the temptation to go adventuring overseas in defense of the mythical "national interest" was already in evidence. America had signed treaties of commerce and of alliance with France in 1778, but, with the political upheavals during the French Revolution that culminated in the execution of Louis XVI in 1793, America no longer felt bound by the terms of the treaties. Revolutionary France, who had been America's ally during the Revolutionary War, found herself in the 1790s embroiled in war with Austria, Prussia, the Netherlands, and Great Britain. During this period, France sent to the United States as ambassador one Citizen Genet, a seasoned subversive who began trying to drag America into the European conflict on the side of the French. Genet began violating American neutrality by commissioning American ships to attack British vessels, and by enlisting American citizens.



George Washington

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Neutrality of the Founders

Troubled by Genet's actions, President Washington issued on April 22, 1793, his Proclamation of Neutrality enjoining "conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers," to be followed both by the state and by private citizens.

In 1796, Washington clarified and offered justification for the principles of neutrality and non-interventionism in his Farewell Address:

> Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it?

In other words, Washington foresaw the allure of foreign interventionism, but believed that the power of example, rather than the force of arms, would win more friends and allies in the long run.

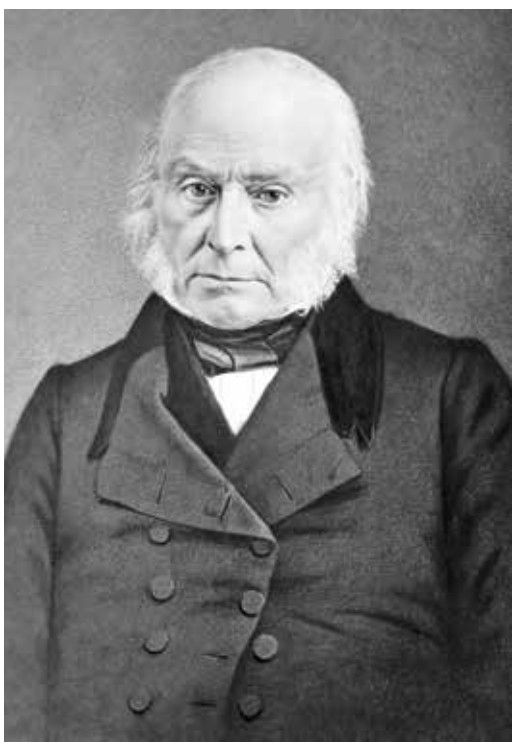
Washington continued:

> Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence … the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government.... The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible....
>
> Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns.... Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?
>
> It is our true policy to steer clear of any permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world....

This, then, is the "isolationism" that our modern-day sophisticates hold in such low esteem: Mind our own business; maintain impartiality about foreign quarrels, whose tangled ramifications we can't fully appreciate in any case; lead by example rather than by political maneuvering or military force; and encourage non-political relations with all who will accept our friendship. At most, Washington was espousing *political* isolationism, if there is any justice to the term at all. He and all the Founders — many of whom were men of letters with a keen interest in foreign languages, history and culture — certainly favored private and commercial association with foreign nations.

In the decades to follow, America's leaders had numerous opportunities to lead America into war in response to threats overseas, but refrained from doing so. The so-called "Holy Alliance" of European powers, for example, an early effort to create a pan-European order, attempted — among other things — to mediate between Spain and the revolting Spanish colonies in Latin America. In a 19th-century echo of the modern concept of "peacekeeping," the members of the Alliance were seriously contemplating using force against Spain and her colonies, if necessary, to compel them to observe any terms of agreement mediated by the Alliance. The Alliance also sought to ensure, by entangling the United States with European affairs, that the United States would not ally itself with the rest of the New World, in opposition to the Old. The United States was accordingly invited to participate in a conference in Madrid to consider the relationship between Spain and her colonies. According to historian W. Alison Phillips:

> [The proposal to invite the United States to Madrid] was initiated … in a memorandum on the "perils of the New World" which, in view of what has happened since and is occurring still, is certainly a remarkable document. In isolation, [the memorandum] argued, the United States would not constitute a danger; but it would be different were the Latin American states to imitate their institutions. "A complete republican world, young, full of ardour, rich in the products of all climates and with soil of incomparable fertility, establishing itself in the presence of a Europe grown old, everywhere ruled by monarchs, overcrowded with inhabitants, shaken by thirty years of revolutionary shocks … would certainly present a spectacle worthy of the most serious reflections and a very real danger." The United States should be invited to co-operate with the Allies, partly to gain time, partly "*in order to attach the United States to the general system of Europe and to prevent a spirit of rivalry and hatred establishing itself between the Old and the New World.*" [Emphasis added.]



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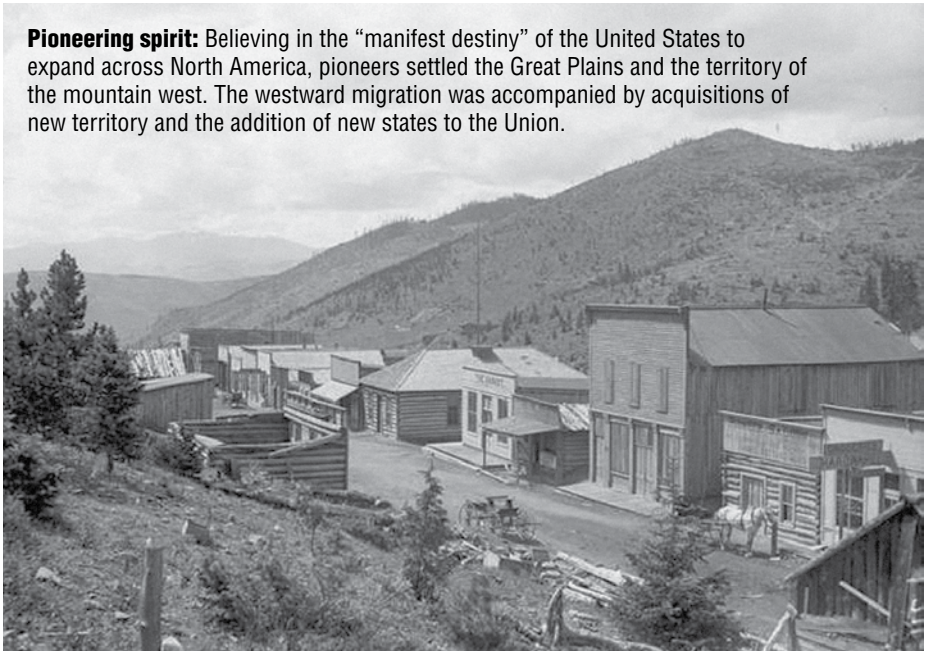
John Quincy Adams: Secretary of state to President James Monroe and later sixth president of the United States, Adams was one of the most outspoken proponents of American neutrality.

In other words, from the very early days of the American republic, certain European powers regarded the United States and her free constitution as a threat, a threat they sought to mitigate by involving America in European affairs and by hindering, wherever possible, the establishment of republican systems elsewhere in the New World. The general sentiment in the United



Pioneering spirit: Believing in the "manifest destiny" of the United States to expand across North America, pioneers settled the Great Plains and the territory of the mountain west. The westward migration was accompanied by acquisitions of new territory and the addition of new states to the Union.

Library of Congress

States regarding the Holy Alliance and its involvement in European and Spanish American intrigue is typified in Secretary of State John Quincy Adams' remarks to Mr. Middleton, American minister to Russia:

> The political system of the United States is … essentially Extra-European. To stand in firm and cautious independence of all entanglement in the European system, has been a cardinal point of their policy under every administration.... Yet in proportion as the importance of the United States as one of the members of the general Society of civilized Nations increases in the eyes of others, the difficulties of maintaining this system, and the temptations to depart from it increase and multiply with it.... [F]or the repose of Europe as well as of America, the European and American political systems, should be kept as separate and distinct from each other as possible. If the United States, as members of the Holy Alliance could acquire a right to ask the influence of its most powerful member in their controversies with other States; the other members must be entitled in return to ask the influence of the United States, for themselves or against their opponents.

Elsewhere Adams asserted:

> America goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own.... She well knows that by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication in all wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standards of freedom.

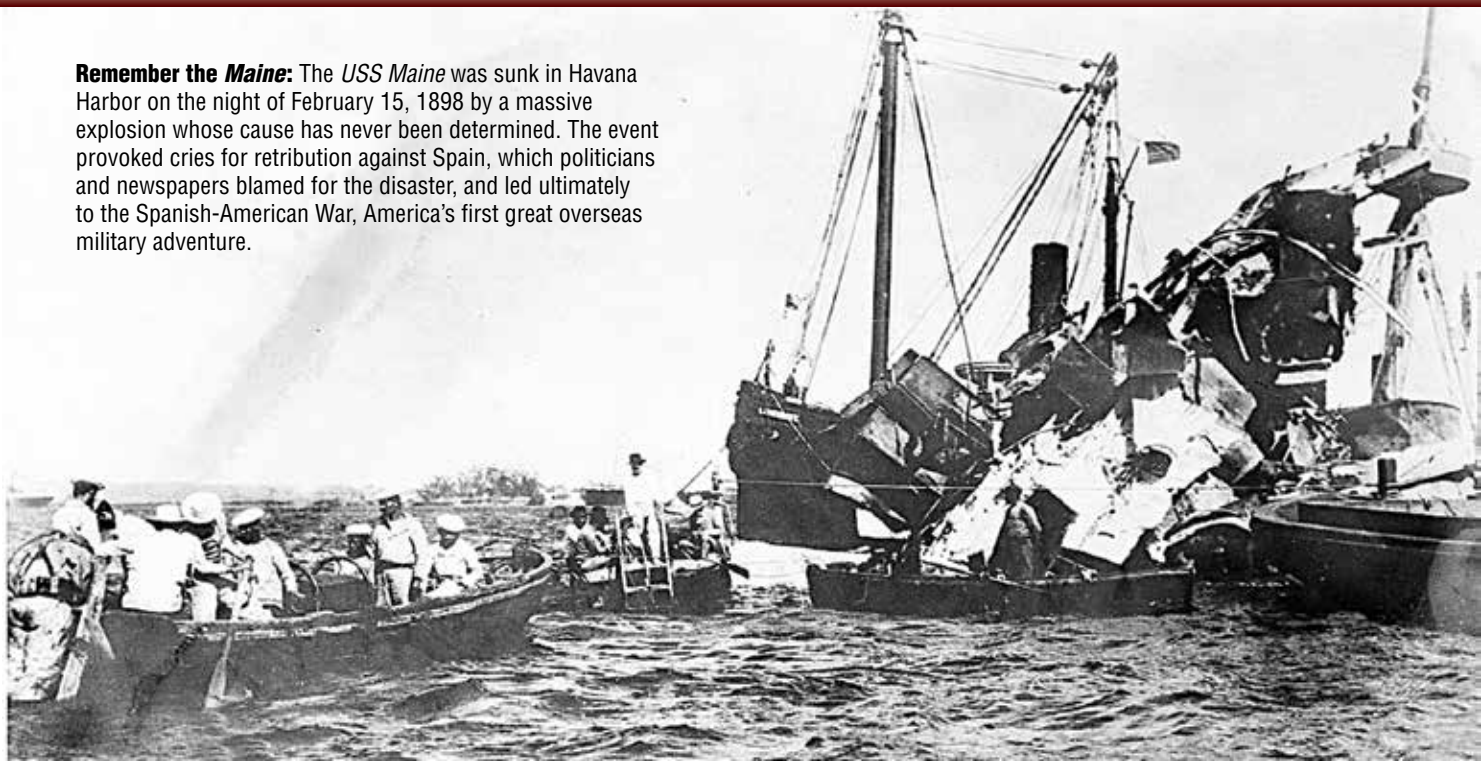
The Monroe Doctrine

It was Secretary of State Adams, along with President [James] Monroe, who, in 1823, formulated the famous Monroe Doctrine, which was not only a response to events in Europe and Latin America, but also a positive formulation of American foreign interests. The doctrine warned against future European colonization in the New World, or attempts to "extend their [political] system to any portion of this hemisphere." The Monroe Doctrine declined to interfere with "existing colonies or dependencies of any European power" and expressed a policy of "leaving [Spain and her colonies] to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course." Fundamentally, then, the Monroe Doctrine, in conjunction with our already-established policy of neutrality, could be distilled into two cardinal principles, which Thomas Jefferson expressed in a letter to President Monroe:

> Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe.... She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe.

The Founders, then, far from being backward idealists on foreign policy, understood the danger of getting involved in European affairs. They declined to participate in multinational "peacekeeping" organizations, or to fight to defend the freedom of any other country. They feared not only the direct, short-term consequences — the human and economic toll — of waging war overseas; they also anticipated that such entanglements would compromise and corrupt, by protracted association with Old World politics, the American republican system of government.

Because of the Founders' foresight,



Remember the *Maine*: The *USS Maine* was sunk in Havana Harbor on the night of February 15, 1898 by a massive explosion whose cause has never been determined. The event provoked cries for retribution against Spain, which politicians and newspapers blamed for the disaster, and led ultimately to the Spanish-American War, America's first great overseas military adventure.

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America remained for more than a century essentially free from overseas military involvement. Even as late as the First Hague Conference in 1899, an early peace confab organized by the nascent internationalist coterie, the United States delegation could still insist that:

> Nothing contained in this Convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or policy of international administration of any foreign State.

Embracing Empire

Ironically, by the time of this declaration, the United States had already begun a dramatic swing away from the policies it claimed to reaffirm. The concept of "Manifest Destiny," a term coined in 1845 by editor John O'Sullivan, had been for decades applied to what many Americans saw as a divinely-appointed mission to expand and fill the territory of North America. But by the 1890s, the connotations of the word "destiny" were expanding as well — to include an assumption of overseas supremacy and global overseership.

The Hawaiian Islands were the first target of American overseas expansionism. By the mid-1890s, American sugar cultivators in Hawaii were exerting pressure on Washington to annex the subtropical island chain 2,000 miles from America's west coast. In an impassioned debate in Congress in 1898, just after the outbreak of the Spanish-American war and just before Hawaiian annexation was finalized, Representative Richard P. Bland, a Democrat from Missouri, warned of the long-term consequences of America's new expansionist fervor:

> The prime movers for the annexation of Hawaii boldly assert on this floor … that Hawaii is necessary to us in our new policy. This new policy is defined as being the permanent occupation of the Philippine Islands, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and whatever other territory we may conquer during this war, and more still, they tell us that we must make alliances with England and Japan … to the end that we may participate in carving up and parceling out the Chinese Empire.... Such a policy as this is intended and is urged by its promoters for the purpose of building up in this country a centralized power of wealth with big standing armies and navies to protect this plutocratic control.... You are on the road to imperialism, with a large Navy and standing armies and oppressive taxation … and adopting a military government instead of republican institutions and constitutional liberty.

To this warning, Republican James F. Stewart of New Jersey replied contemptuously:

> The silly argument of national isolation, the outgrowth of fear and timidity, is lame and impotent.... Every nation must at all times be prepared to protect its citizens and interests abroad, and in order to do this we must have mid-stations as bases of supply and resort, in order that our just resentment against foreign nations may be sure and certain of management and control.... Gentlemen on the other side, with tearful solicitude for our Constitution, and knowing our tender regard for that majestic instrument, interpose it as a bar.... Our country has arisen from lusty youth to vigorous manhood. We must share the responsibilities as well as the blessings of modern civilization. We must participate in the world's destiny.

Unfortunately, the inflated and specious rhetoric of men like Congressman Stewart carried the day. After the annexation of Hawaii, the *Boston Transcript* observed:

> The Rubicon has at last been crossed. The country now enters upon a policy that is entirely new. It has thrown down its former standards, cast aside its old traditions, has extended its first tentacle two thousand miles away, and is growing others for exploitation in southern and eastern seas.

Even as the Hawaiian annexation was being consummated, the Spanish-American War broke out, in which the United States acquired not only Guam and Puerto Rico, but also the Philippines. With these new territories, wrested from a debilitated Spain as a result of a very dubious provocation, the United States became a true international imperial power. And, as with all far-flung empires, the new dominions provided built-in rationalizations for further overseas interventionism. For one thing, the United States authority soon faced a bloody insurrection in the Philippines, which was suppressed only at a cost of thousands of lives, mostly Filipino. For another, the Philippines now provided a convenient base of operations for further interventionist activities in what had become our new sphere of interest in East Asia. The Philippines were used, for example, as a staging ground for U.S. intervention in China during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900.

The Spanish-American War decisively undermined America's resistance to overseas interventionism. Contemporary essayist William Graham Sumner claimed, in his magnificent essay "The Conquest of the United States by Spain" that, because of the changes the war had wrought in the United States, the *ideological* victory had been won by Spain. After all, this ancient Old World imperial power, though decrepit, still embodied the principles of European expansionism that America's Founders had so carefully repudiated. Sumner wrote:

> [E]xpansion and imperialism are at war with the best traditions, principles, and interests of the American people, and they will plunge us into a network of difficult problems and political perils.... The people … who now want us to break out, warn us against the terrors of "isolation." Our ancestors all came here to isolate themselves from the social burdens and inherited errors of the old world.... What we are doing is that we are abandoning this blessed isolation to run after a share in the trouble.

Sumner accurately forecast many of the consequences of America's newfound expansionist enthusiasm, but he did not foresee the rise of other influences that sought to harness American militarism to serve aims far more inimical to American self-interest than old-fashioned territorial conquest.

Beginning with World War I, internationalist Utopians began making the case for using war to cleanse the world of despotism. It was Woodrow Wilson who, with the support of most of the American political and financial establishment, dragged America into the European quagmire in 1917 — after being re-elected on a pledge to keep us out of the conflict overseas. Wilson argued that America's immediate national self-interest must be subordinated to the gauzy, inexact cause of global humanitarianism:

> The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion.... We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind.

Global Policeman

After World War I, even as America's enthusiasm for territorial expansion waned, a new spirit of promiscuous interventionism arose to take its place. This new impulse was — as Wilson had stated — less concerned with overt, old-fashioned territorial conquest than with the imposition of a geopolitical ideal. But while "democracy" was the public selling point, the real objective was — and remains — a permanent socialist world order backed by allegedly enlightened military interventionism. Most American

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Entrenched internationalism: America's involvement in World War I was the first time Americans were asked to die overseas in order to "make the world safe for democracy." The war was exploited by cynical internationalists to create a permanent precedent for American interventionism.

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Policing the world: The United Nations ensures that the United States remains entangled in all of the world's problems, including various UN peacekeeping missions. Since the Korean War, the American military has worked hand in hand with the UN's blue-helmeted shock troops.

interventionism since World War I, therefore, has served not American nationalist interests but the interests of internationalist elites, including organizations — like the United Nations — that advance their agenda.

The Second World War more firmly cemented the cause of benevolent empire in American minds, thanks to the ideological evils of Nazism and Fascism and the horrors that they wrought. During the Cold War, the largely illusory Soviet military threat — which we ourselves helped the Russians to build, with generous foreign aid — was a convenient foil to justify further overseas expansion. With the end of the Cold War, as the "world's only superpower," we have now assumed the role of global policeman. So steeped have we become in the terminology of world domination that the very term "empire" is now used unabashedly, as in a January 17th [2002] article in *The Christian Science Monitor* that referred to America as a "reluctant empire."

It has come to this: The America of the Founding Era and most of the 19th century — a prudently non-interventionist country that managed to avoid the conflicts and intrigues of the Old World that its citizens had fled — has become, in conjunction with the United Nations and its subsidiaries, a world-encircling empire, with more than 250,000 troops stationed in roughly 140 countries besides our own. Our supposedly benign interventionist policy has created almost constant conflict, commencing with no-win debacles in Korea and Vietnam.

The last decade began with the ill-advised war in the Persian Gulf, a war whose long-range consequences, including an endless air campaign in Iraq, are still unfolding. In addition, we saw the Somalia debacle, which cost the lives of thousands of Somalis and 18 American servicemen; the invasion of Haiti to replace one dictator with another; air wars in Bosnia and Kosovo, costing many thousands of lives; missile attacks on the Sudan and Afghanistan; and of course, the still-developing war on terrorism, which has already provided an excuse for the United States to occupy Afghanistan, and to station military forces in Pakistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan as well. Moreover, thanks to the war on terrorism, our troops are now back in the Philippines, only 10 years after Subic Bay Naval base closed. And there's talk of revisiting Somalia, Sudan, and Iraq. This last is a particularly bitter irony, considering that Saddam Hussein, a bloodthirsty dictator if ever there was one, is still firmly in command, while the supposed champions of global freedom and democracy who opposed him — George Bush, Sr., John Major, and Bill Clinton — are long gone from the political stage.

Unfortunately, the self-perpetuating rationale of empire is very difficult for politicians to resist. Once in place, overseas entanglements, like domestic special interests, clamor for protection. The paladins of Pax Americana argue that withdrawing American military forces from overseas commitments would bring chaos. But the nations of the world are perfectly capable of managing their affairs by themselves without American "adult supervision."

Sadly, all of the consequences of interventionism and empire that the Founders predicted have come to pass: We are now literally spread across the world, actively seeking for monsters to destroy — terrorists are the bogeymen of the hour — and defending each new missile salvo as a blow on behalf of freedom or its cleverly-disguised rhetorical counterfeit, "democracy." Unfortunately, some of those monsters are now discovering ways to strike back in kind, by attacking American embassies, ships and now, even the American homeland itself. And as Jefferson, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams all feared, our vigorous republican system has been vitiated with bad ideas emanating from the Old World, like socialism, militarism, and the fetish for unrestrained democracy, all of which were practiced in Europe long before they filtered into the United States.

The historical precedents are not encouraging. Seldom if ever do empires, at the height of their power, unilaterally renounce violence and conquest abroad and revert to national affairs. It usually remains for other powers to unite against them and destroy them: That which is created by force, unfortunately, is usually undone in the same way or not at all. Our choice, then, is stark. Either we continue our descent into empire, spending our strength waging war across the globe; or we summon the character as a nation to return to our republican roots, replacing internationalism and endless war with the old-fashioned virtue of minding our own business. ■

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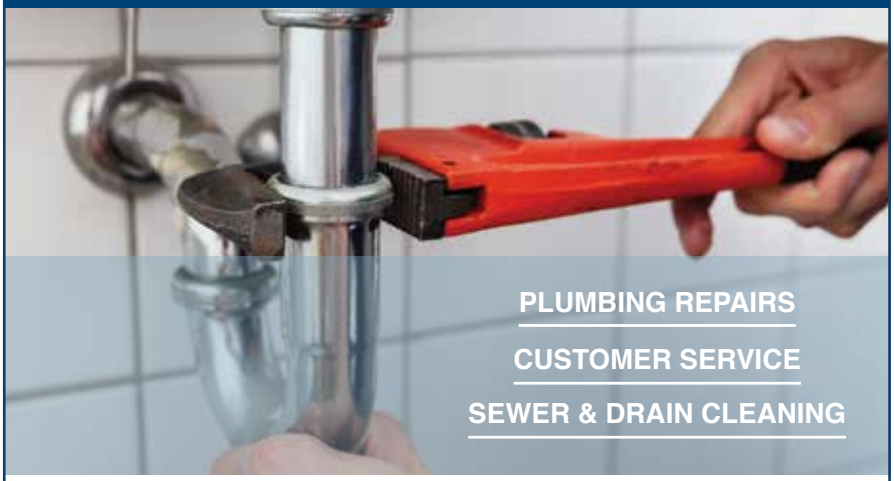

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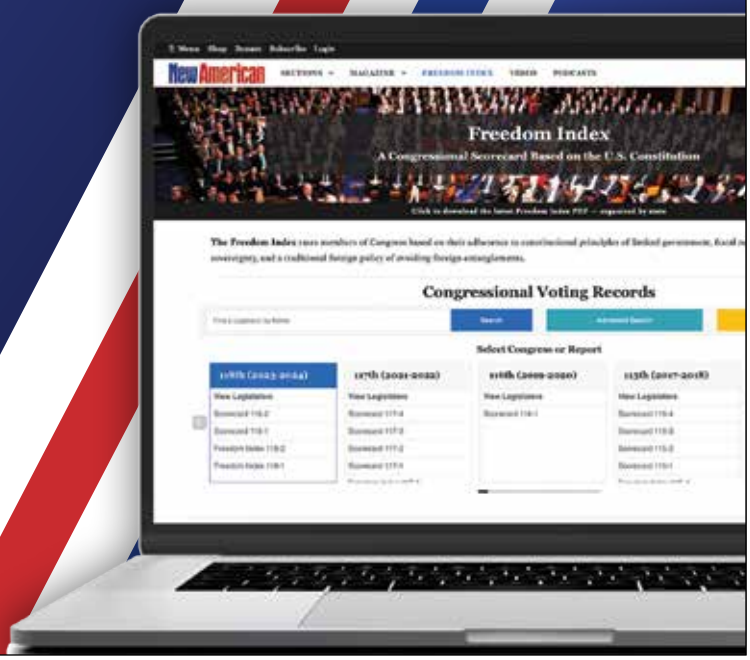

It's Time to Pull the Plug on the Silencer Scam

by Joe Wolverton II, J.D.

There is no justification — constitutional, moral, or practical — for treating firearm suppressors, also known as "silencers," as if they were machine guns or explosives. And yet, under the despotic dictates of the National Firearms Act (NFA), these hearing-saving devices are shackled by federal red tape, absurdly treated as instruments of mass destruction.

On May 21, the Second Amendment Foundation (SAF) took a bold and praiseworthy stand by calling on Congress to tear down this indefensible wall of bureaucratic tyranny. In a letter addressed to House Speaker Mike Johnson (R-La.) and Senate Majority Leader John Thune (R-S.D.), SAF, joined by its partners in liberty, demanded that Congress amend the current budget reconciliation bill (aka Trump's "Big Beautiful Bill") to include Section 2 of the Hearing Protection Act (HPA) — a simple and sensible provision that would treat suppressors as long guns under the law.

Let that sink in — not legalize some dangerous new class of weapons, not arm felons or cartels, but merely remove suppressors from the draconian overreach of the NFA and regulate them the same way rifles and shotguns are regulated today. Purchasers would still undergo background checks, would still buy from licensed dealers, and would still be subject to the same unconstitutional vetting they already endure when purchasing a firearm.

But that's not oppressive enough for the federal gun-control regime. For decades, suppressors have been trapped under a system that forces citizens to fork over a $200 tax, endure invasive registration, and then wait months — sometimes more than a year — for bureaucratic approval.

The result? A de facto ban on suppressors by delay and expense. And all of it without one shred of constitutional authority.

The Constitution explicitly forbids Congress from regulating the manner in which a citizen chooses to exercise his right to keep and bear arms. The right is not limited. It is not limited to the preferences of city dwellers or of demagogues pretending to be statesmen. It is not subject to the shifting winds of "public health." It is a right — unalienable, inviolable, and protected by the supreme law of the land.

The use of suppressors does not make a firearm more deadly. It makes its operation less harmful — to hearing, to neighbors, and to the environment. Comparing suppressors to mufflers on automobiles is not rhetorical flair, it's a precise analogy. Both devices serve the same purpose: to muffle the damaging and disruptive sound of internal combustion. In the case of suppressors, the combustion just happens to occur inside the chamber of a firearm.

So why are mufflers legal and widely used, while suppressors are locked behind bureaucratic walls?

Because, as with so many areas of federal overreach, the NFA was born of ignorance, fear, and the desire to control.

The National Firearms Act of 1934 was not passed to combat crime — it was passed to expand federal power. The criminals of the Prohibition Era provided the perfect pretext, and Congress leapt at the opportunity.

Suppressors became an early casualty of that war against the law-abiding. Despite their negligible use in crimes, and despite their clear benefits, they were lumped in with sawed-off shotguns and machine guns, not because of evidence, but because of emotion.

And that is how the federal government still governs: by fearmongering, not by fidelity to the Constitution.

Adam Kraut, executive director of SAF, hit the nail squarely on the head when he called the current suppressor registration regime "repugnant." The entire scheme is indeed repugnant — to the Constitution, to the principles of limited government, and to the lived experience of countless hunters, recreational shooters, and law-abiding gun owners.

Suppressors are not instruments of chaos — they are tools of courtesy. They preserve hearing. They reduce environmental noise. They make gun ranges less disruptive to neighbors. In fact, in many European countries — not exactly bastions of gun liberty — suppressors are encouraged for these very reasons.

And to those who clutch their pearls and warn of "silent assassins" lurking behind every bush if suppressors are deregulated — spare us the hysteria. Suppressors do not make guns silent like in the movies. They reduce the decibel level of a gunshot from ear-shattering to manageable. That's it. They do not magically make a firearm invisible, inaudible, or any more dangerous.

Indeed, according to real-world data, suppressors are almost never used in crime. They are bulky, expensive, and impractical for most criminal purposes. That's why the only thing suppressed by the NFA is the health and liberty of law-abiding Americans.

The addition of Section 2 of the HPA to the Big Beautiful Bill was not a radical act. It's a return to sanity; it's a step toward treating gun owners like citizens, not suspects. However, the sheer size of the Big Beautiful Bill is another matter — one that caused Representative Thomas Massie (see our exclusive interview with Massie on page 13) to oppose it. We applaud Massie for his principle vote to rein in Big Government and hope that HPA can be enacted — perhaps as a stand-alone bill — without adding trillions of additional dollars to the national debt. ■

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THE REVIEW

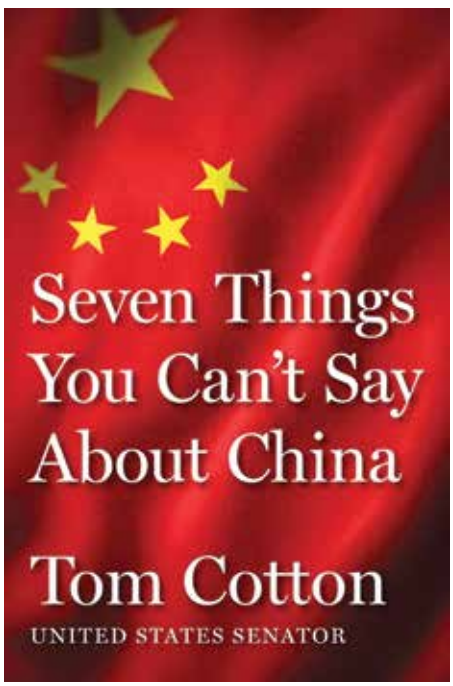
Raising Red Flags Over Beijing

by William P. Hoar

***Seven Things You Can't Say About China*,** by Tom Cotton, New York: Broadside Books, 2025, 206 pages, hardcover.

This slim volume is chock full of an abundance of truth as our nation looks at an enemy whose eyes are locked in open warfare against us while all too many on this side are seemingly undiscerning or looking the other way. To his credit, the author is scrutable at a time when highbrowed folks insist Beijing is inscrutable. "I have never," he writes, "taken the claims of Chinese Communists at face value." He generally looks at actions, not words, and when our adversaries start covering up, he recognizes that they are up to no good.

The title notwithstanding, what is delivered in these pages are seven things (and many more subtopics) that really *should be said* about Communist China. And they should be reiterated forcefully and widely. These follow, also serving as chapter titles: China 1) is an evil empire; 2) is preparing for war; 3) is waging economic world war; 4) has infiltrated our society; 5) has infiltrated our government; 6) is coming for our kids; and 7) could win.



Adding to clarity, readers get workmanship without bureaucratic shoptalk. The style is forthright. The messages are straight to the point. And, if for some reason you do not agree with some point, it won't be because an ambiguous thesis was bafflingly cryptic.

The author of *Seven Things You Can't Say About China* is Tom Cotton. A U.S. Army veteran and graduate of Harvard College and Harvard Law School, Cotton is a U.S. senator from Arkansas. His Senate assignments include the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, where he serves on the Energy and Public Lands subcommittees; the Armed Services Committee, where he serves on the Airland, Cybersecurity, and Strategic Forces subcommittees; the Intelligence Committee, where he serves as chairman; and the Joint Economic Committee.

This broad experience helps to support the writer's arguments in this volume. Cotton also is the author of *Sacred Duty* and *Only the Strong*. He served combat tours in Iraq with the 101st Airborne Division and in Afghanistan with a Provincial Reconstruction Team.

In this book, Cotton is generous to advisors, officials, and sources, which are generally listed — though not in strict footnote and/or bibliographical style, perhaps understandable considering the volume's concise size. In addition, the lawmaker expresses gratitude for the firsthand testimony of Uyghurs, Tibetans, Hong Kongers, and "other victims of Chinese communism."

Police State, Genocide

The evil under review is not musty and irrelevant history; it is ongoing. Yet, the

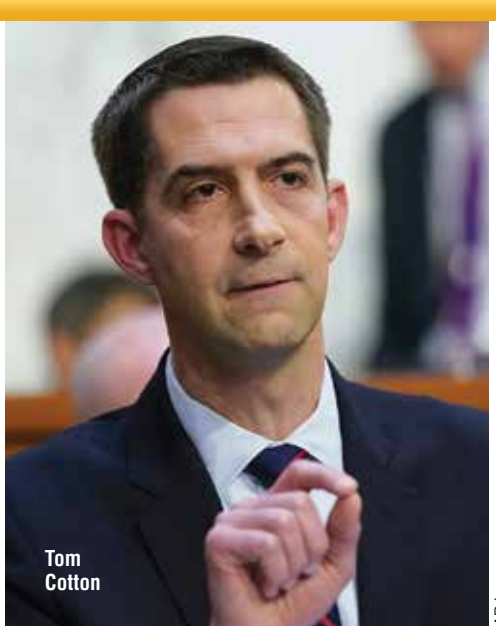
past also matters. How can one ignore the "Great Leap Forward" (1959-1962), which produced the "worst famine in history"? With some 45 million killed, that disaster "drove some to cannibalism." Beyond that, among other horrors, are China's one-child policy and associated measures that "led to more than 330 million abortions and approximately 200 million sterilizations." And this, continues the author, started "three years after Mao's death [in 1976] and continued for nearly four decades — hardly the mark of a reformed, post-Mao, 'moderate' Communist Party."

Mao, as malevolent as he was, is still deified on the mainland. That's not an exaggeration. Notes Cotton, "The party is literally *rewriting* the Bible and hopes to publish by 2029 a new 'translation' that will replace the Word of God with the word of Mao." (Emphasis in original.)

Jump to "modern" China and current dictator Xi Jinping. In a section about what is rightly called the "Techno-Totalitarian Police State," we read that Xi, contends the author,

> may well be more powerful than Mao, who could only dream of the advanced technological tools in the hands of Xi's Communist Party. The party's eyes and ears are everywhere, always watching and eavesdropping on the greatest threat to its rule: the Chinese people.
>
> [China has indeed been spending more on its armed forces, but it still] spends as much money on controlling its own people as it does on its military. When paired with regional and local governments, the party has built a police state from the pages of George Orwell's *1984*. Today, 2 million police officers monitor China's streets, supported by an estimated 3.5 million private security officers and 660,000 paramilitary soldiers in the People's Armed Police.

Then, add the prying cameras that are everywhere. The ChiComs (our expression, not Cotton's) have more than half of the world's nearly one billion surveillance cameras. According to the party, it can identify any of the nation's 1.4 billion subjects in one second. Even if that is a lie, it sounds like a goal that Beijing is pursuing.


Tom Cotton
AP Images

The chapter on evil may well give you nightmares — covering persecution of Christians, barbaric treatment against Falun Gong prisoners (including the forcible harvesting of human organs), and general oppression of those living in Hong Kong (which is decidedly not the same place — a British colony — this reviewer and his wife visited on their honeymoon years ago).

Even more vicious is the hell imposed on the Uyghurs in Xinjiang province. They are literally suffering from genocide. To try to wipe out the Uyghur people, for example, the party uses forced sterilization and insertion of contraceptive devices. This works. According to the statistics cited by Cotton, between 2017 and 2019, "the Communists slashed Xinjiang's birthrate in half."

Arms Race; Aiming at Taiwan

Over the past quarter-century, as noted in *Seven Things You Can't Say About China*, the Communist Chinese have been assembling one of the largest military buildups in history. The numbers of planes, ships, missiles, drones, and much more have been snowballing. This also includes nuclear forces. Beijing had 240 nuclear warheads when Xi became China's top leader, a number that more than doubled (to 500-plus) in just 10 years. By the end of this decade, writes Cotton (relaying testimony before one of his Senate committees), Communist China plans to double it again to more than 1,000 warheads. The Pentagon estimates that China will have stockpiled 1,500 nuclear warheads — an astonishing 525 percent increase since Xi took power — by 2035, though given the Pentagon's consistent underestimates in the past, it's fair (and safer) to assume that China will move even faster.

This escalation, across the board, is undoubtedly continuing. This is not just an overly hawkish perception of the author, cherry-picking scare stories.

Although it might be more comfortable for some to concentrate on making deals, lies (and liars such as the Communist Chinese leaders) can leave real scars. Even as the People's Liberation Army has the largest ground force on the globe, the U.S. Army has, as Cotton acknowledges, "shrunk to its smallest size since the start of World War II."

According to recent remarks by Admiral Samuel Paparo, the commander of the U.S. Indo-Pacific Command, China is producing two submarines a year versus 1.4 for the United States, and six warships for every 1.8 U.S. naval combatant. China also is producing 120 fighter jets a year, to about 90 for the United States.

The admiral's comments were reported in May by Bill Gertz, the incisive national security correspondent for *The Washington Times*.

Gertz also reported that Chinese preparation for a military attack against Taiwan has reached a "rapid boil." He was quoting Paparo, who commented, "You know the metaphor of boiling the frog. Well, it's a rapid boil. We notice quick change."

Cotton's book contains much more about the growing military threat against Taiwan (what used to widely be called Free China, or the Republic of China on Taiwan). He recalls the particularly aggressive "exercises" in 2020, "infringing on Taiwan's airspace and waters and practicing military strikes on mock U.S. aircraft carriers." Then in 2022,

> Chinese aircraft flew into Taiwan's airspace more than 1,700 times, more than the previous three years combined…. [In a subsequent move,] it encircled Taiwan with aircraft and

> ships and conducted live-fire exercises with artillery and missiles, some of which landed in Japanese waters. And China matched the incursions into Taiwan's airspace in 2023, showing no desire to reduce tensions.

Indeed, as seen above, matters have become even hotter.

Despite the fact that members of the Trump team used to talk of how China was responsible for "genocide and crimes against humanity" of Uyghurs, and the need to revoke Beijing's permanent normal trade relations status, more recent discussions seem concerned about more "balanced trade." How GOP members of Congress, including Cotton, will ultimately respond remains to be seen.

The possibility of a military invasion of Taiwan is a real one. Yet, that is not the only type of attack directed at the island nation that is possible. China also employs state-sponsored actors (their name falls under the term of "Volt Typhoon," as well as other terms). Even former FBI Director Christopher Wray publicly called this "the defining threat of our generation." Retired Admiral Mark Montgomery, a senior fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, not long ago said that Communist China may never need to invade Taiwan militarily. They could use, in his words, "cyber attacks, economic pressure and information warfare to bring Taiwan under control without ever firing a shot." (That comment was made after this book was written.)

Cotton, we must hasten to point out, does go into espionage and all sorts of hacking in his chapter on economic world war. As usual, he puts it directly: "The Chinese Communist Party operates in the global economy like a gangster in a world without police. China steals foreign technology and shakes down foreign companies on an unprecedented scale." Emphatically, the senator calls Taiwan "the most dangerous flashpoint in the world."

Targeting Young Americans

There is a robust chapter that is directed closer to our homes — right down to the children who live there. Detailed are the purposeful manipulation of TikTok and insidious Chinese propaganda, as well as physical addiction to fentanyl. Fentanyl's origins are still Chinese. Cotton explains that Donald Trump did force a few concessions from Xi. However, as the senator also explains, Chinese producers then "shifted from smuggling fentanyl into the United States to sending fentanyl precursors to Mexico, where drug cartels manufacture the drug in massive quantities. China even provides pill presses to the cartels and assists them with financing and money laundering."

It was deadly before; it is still deadly. And the crisis was designed by Beijing. Young Americans are hit particularly hard. Writes Cotton:

> Fentanyl is now the leading cause of death for Americans aged eighteen to forty-five, and it kills more Americans aged fifteen to nineteen than any natural cause. Between 2019 and 2021, fentanyl was responsible for 84 percent of all adolescent overdose deaths, and by 2022 nearly two dozen high-school-age kids were dying from drug overdoses every week.

Children, continues the senator, might not even know they are taking fentanyl, "because the Chinese drug is often spliced into nearly every other drug, from heroin and cocaine to Adderall and marijuana."

In the background, we find that Chinese leaders won't let go of their grievances dating to a pair of Opium Wars (1839-1842 and 1856-1860) between China and Britain and the Anglo-France War in China. For his part, Cotton doesn't swallow the notion that "American teenagers were responsible for what Europeans did nearly two centuries ago." The senator calls this the "reverse opium war."

American officials continue to push China for more of a crackdown on the synthetic opioid. However, the communists don't even pretend to be concerned. Even as we were reviewing this section, here's what Lin Jian, a spokesman for China's Foreign Ministry, was publicly saying: "China has made it clear more than once that fentanyl is [America's] problem, not China's. It's [America's] responsibility to solve the issue. If the U.S. truly wants to cooperate with China, it should stop vilifying and shifting the blame on China, and seek dialogue with China based on equality, respect and mutual benefit."

The future of Taiwan is key to the Communist Chinese, as well as to Cotton's book. He stretches at the potential outcomes — arguably overplaying his hand a bit — suggesting such consequences as the fraying of alliances worldwide, the loss of half a billion people in other areas of Southeast Asia, the spread of nuclear weapons, and the general decline

AP Images

Deadly drug: In his book, Cotton points out China's important role in the fentanyl crisis facing America. China's response: Not our problem.

of American influence. That should grab your attention.

In his chapter called "China Could Win," the senator leans on the analyses of several experts and sources on why Taiwan and its possible fall are so crucial: He sees the immediate effect of a Chinese invasion of Taiwan as "economic chaos for most Americans." Such a war, according to Bloomberg Economics, "would wipe out $10 trillion in wealth worldwide." As for the U.S. economy, it would

> shrink by much more than it did in the Great Recession of 2008. No one today has lived through such an economic collapse. Ian Easton, a U.S. Navy War College professor and expert on China's planned Taiwan invasion, writes, "It is possible that a Chinese invasion of Taiwan would cause a 21st century version of the Great Depression." Famed investor Ken Griffin is blunter: "It's an immediate Great Depression."

Some believe you can make troubles real by telling them too often. Maybe. Perhaps it is better to keep your fears to yourself — but share your courage with others.

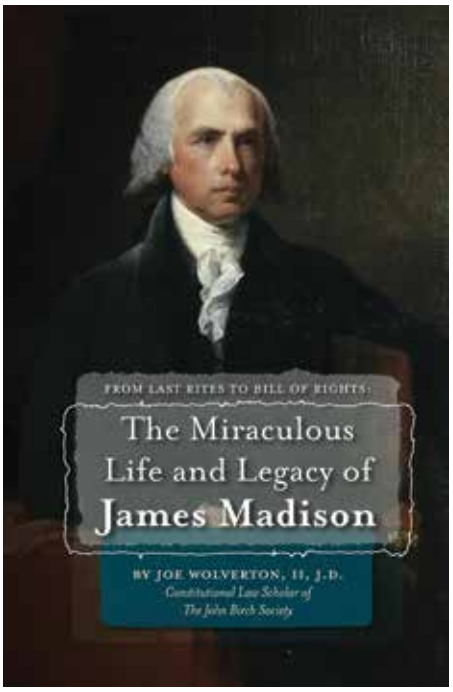
China is playing a long game — seeking to be dominant with our nation being what amounts to a colony. That was acknowledged by China's then-Premier Li Keqiang, during a state visit by Donald Trump to China in 2017. Cotton cites the premier (who died in October 2023) as saying that the "U.S. role in the future global economy would be to provide China with raw materials, agricultural products, and energy to fuel its production of the world's cutting-edge industrial and consumer products."

For the record, Tom Cotton does not see that happening. The only winning strategy, from his standpoint, is in preserving the primacy of this country. "China could indeed win, but only if America lets it." ■

Madison's Legacy

by Steve Byas

From Last Rites to Bill of Rights: The Miraculous Life and Legacy of James Madison, by Joe Wolverton II, J.D., Appleton, Wisconsin: Western Islands, 2025, 424 pages, paperback.



This is not the first book about James Madison — not even the first by author Joe Wolverton — but it is clearly the best. After reading this biography, any lover of America should thank God that He allowed us to have this great man who shaped our history like no other.

George Washington has been dubbed America's indispensable man, and he surely deserves such acclaim, but Wolverton makes a good case that Madison likewise deserves that title. The author takes us from the early life of Madison to his death, with this overarching theme always present. In addition, Wolverton devotes more than 100 pages to statements Madison made that illustrate his wisdom, especially regarding maintaining limited government and constitutional republicanism.

Madison is often called "the Father of the Constitution." While he personally rejected that title for himself, Wolverton asserts it is one "he unquestionably earned." It was Madison who arrived in Philadelphia for what became the Constitutional Convention with a plan for a new U.S. government. He had spent months studying the records of past republics, and "he knew," Wolverton explains, "that any government formed for this country would need to implement the best ideas of the sage political thinkers and philosophers of the past while carefully avoiding the pitfalls that marred the path so many other republics had followed to their eventual demise."

Madison was sickly from infancy, so much so that an Anglican priest was called to administer last rites to him shortly after his birth. But his mind was extraordinary. Instead of attending college in his native Virginia, Madison enrolled at Princeton (then called the College of New Jersey).

This reviewer has read multiple biographies of Madison, but most fail to recognize his deep Christian faith. A student of the renowned Christian scholar John Witherspoon, Madison considered becoming a minister in the Anglican Church. As such, he learned to read the Old Testament — in Hebrew.

Madison probably would have been a great clergyman, but his fellow Virginians recognized his talent for the political world. They elected him in April 1776 as a delegate to a convention called to write a new constitution for Virginia. At first, as Wolverton explains, he refrained from entering into debates, and instead focused on "humbly learning from the wise men in whose company he was honored to be." He was later defeated in a bid for the state legislature, largely because he hated campaigning — a reluctance he never completely overcame, despite his many victories in the political realm.

Nevertheless, during the War for Independence, Madison was elected to the Confederation Congress, where he was the youngest delegate from any state. During this time, he developed a deep friendship and political alliance with his fellow Virginian, Thomas Jefferson, and they often communicated in secret code. Together, they opposed any government establishment of religion. Wolverton quotes Madison: "The Religion then of every man must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man; and it is the right of every man to exercise it as these may dictate." This was not because Madison was somehow hostile to the Christian faith — as some today seem to imply — but rather because he held the Christian religion to be of "divine origin," and allowing civil magistrates to dictate reli-

gious doctrine would be "an unhallowed perversion of the means of salvation."

As Wolverton demonstrates, Madison "considered himself a Christian throughout his life," and urged others "to take great care in seeing that [their names] be recorded in the 'annals of heaven.'" Another example that Wolverton uses to demonstrate Madison's personal faith in Christ is the "detailed and comprehensive notes he took on the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles." In them, he explicitly held to the fact of the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

This faith was essential to Madison's political philosophy, which recognized the sinful nature of human beings. This is why he believed government was necessary — and likewise why *limited* government was necessary. In *The Federalist*, No. 51, Madison offered perhaps the greatest explanation ever uttered by an American regarding this principle: "If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary."

This explains why he favored a *republican* form of government, not a democracy. Based on his extensive reading of ancient Greek and Roman history, he warned in *The Federalist*, No. 10 of the dangers of democracy. In *The Federalist*, No. 14, he used the demise of the "turbulent democracies of ancient Greece" as a warning against violence in America. He liberally cited such ancients as Cicero, Solon, and Cato to buttress his arguments.

Once the U.S. Constitution — much of it Madison's handiwork — was approved by the Philadelphia Convention, Madison made the case for its ratification at the Virginia Ratifying Convention. In words we would do well to take to heart today, he told the delegates, "I believe there are more instances of the abridgment of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power, than by violent and sudden usurpations." He argued that the Constitution would make such usurpations less likely, due in large part to its principles of separation of powers and checks and balances.

It is difficult to imagine the U.S. Constitution even existing today without the contributions of Madison before, during, and after the Philadelphia Convention. For instance, Wolverton describes the efforts of Madison to convince George Washington to attend the meeting, explaining to him that his presence would reassure many of his countrymen about the wisdom of the endeavor. Wolverton notes that Madison wrote to Washington that should he "refuse to attend, 'gathering clouds [would] become so dark and menacing' that 'our national existence or safety' would be threatened." Without Madison's persistence, it is unlikely that Washington would have attended the convention, and without Washington's presence, it is unlikely the Constitution would have been adopted.

Madison's presence was likewise essential. He was the first to arrive in Philadelphia, and his notes on the Convention (which every student of liberty and history should read) give us a good picture of what was necessary for the document's ultimate success. He joined with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay to write a series of newspaper articles (known today as *The Federalist*) to convince New Yorkers of the wisdom of the Constitution.

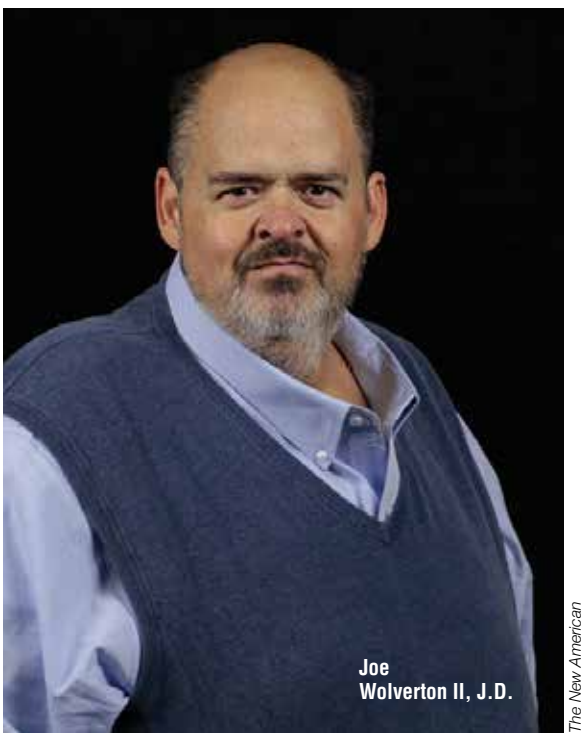
Of course, Madison did not agree with every word of the new Constitution. And he opposed the inclusion of a bill of rights as unnecessary, and even potentially dangerous, arguing that the Constitution did not give the newly created central government any authority to infringe on rights. He feared that a listing of rights might lead some to argue that these were the only rights that Americans enjoyed, and that the government might infringe on others not listed. In the end, however, he promised to support the addition of a bill of rights through the amendment process written into the Constitution — with an important qualification: What we know as the Ninth Amendment states that the listing of certain rights does not mean that these are the only rights Americans enjoyed.

To add the Bill of Rights — which was also largely his handiwork — Madison favored one of the two methods the Constitution provides for proposing amendments, which is by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress, followed by ratification of three-fourths of the states. He did not like the second method of proposing amendments — that is, by another constitutional convention. He feared what might happen at such a convention.

Madison's alliance with Jefferson in opposing the Sedition Act of 1798, his time as secretary of state and president, and his relationships with both other Founders and his beloved wife, Dolley, are all well covered by Wolverton.

One small criticism is the fact that, although Wolverton mentions that Madison, as president, signed the bill creating the Second Bank of the United States, he fails to examine why Madison "flipped" from his opposition to the First Bank of the United States as unconstitutional to evidently accepting the legality of a national bank. Thomas Jefferson, living in retirement, was certainly not happy about this about-face, although it did not adversely affect their long friendship.

This short review cannot do justice to a book of such extensive length and high quality. I highly recommend that students of history and America's founding make it an essential part of their library. ■



Joe Wolverton II, J.D.

The New American

THE LAST WORD

Repeal the Patriot Act

by D. Michael DeRidder

AP Images

Anna Paulina Luna

On May 7, 2025, Representative Anna Paulina Luna (R-Fla.) introduced H.R. 3245, the American Privacy Restoration Act, to repeal the Patriot Act and restore Fourth Amendment protections.

H.R. 3245, a straightforward, one-page bill, would repeal the Patriot Act in its entirety, restoring each provision of law it amended to its state as of October 25, 2001, before the act's passage.

In a press release, Luna summarized the Patriot Act's erosion of U.S. citizens' constitutionally protected rights: "For over two decades, rogue actors within our U.S. intelligence agencies have used the Patriot Act to create the most sophisticated, unaccountable surveillance apparatus in the Western world. My legislation will strip the deep state of these tools and protect every American's fourth amendment right against unreasonable searches and seizures."

Congress hurriedly passed the Patriot Act in the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks. Its supporters, including former Representative Jim Sensenbrenner (R-Wis.), the bill's author, argued it was needed to close national security gaps post-9/11.

The act, however, exceeds Congress' enumerated powers under Article I, Section 8, and violates the Fourth Amendment. The Fourth Amendment protects Americans from unreasonable searches and seizures, requiring warrants based on probable cause. The Patriot Act ignores this safeguard, permitting federal agencies such as the National Security Agency (NSA) and Federal Bureau of Investigation to conduct mass surveillance with limited oversight.

Following its passage, federal agencies gained sweeping powers to monitor phone calls, emails, financial records, and internet activity without a warrant — enabling them to spy on innocent citizens, interfere in elections, and target political adversaries. Vague "national security" pretexts were notably used to justify targeting Donald Trump's 2016 presidential campaign with wiretapping, data collection, and other abuses.

Section 215, for instance, allows the collection of "tangible things" deemed relevant to national security investigations — an undefined standard that has justified bulk data collection on millions of Americans with no ties to terrorism. Edward Snowden, the NSA intelligence contractor turned whistleblower, exposed how these powers have been abused to spy on citizens, journalists, and even political campaigns, confirming suspicions that the Patriot Act serves as a tool for control rather than security.

Over two decades, it has enabled an unaccountable surveillance state while doing little to enhance security. The Patriot Act's broad surveillance provisions have proven ineffective against terrorism. The 9/11 hijackers, for example, operated with foreign passports and minimal domestic footprints, so the act's measures would have been useless to stop them had they been in place at the time.

Former Representative Ron Paul (R-Texas), a vocal opponent of the Patriot Act during his time in Congress, stated in 2011, "The Patriot Act, we know, has nothing to do with patriotism (they always name it opposite of what it is). The Patriot Act is literally the destruction of the Fourth Amendment — that's what it's all about."

The unconstitutional laws passed following 9/11 betray the principles of individual rights and limited government enshrined in the Constitution and Bill of Rights. But H.R. 3245 offers a solution: By repealing the Patriot Act, Congress can help restore constitutional adherence, ensuring federal agencies cannot violate God-given rights under the guise of security.

As Representative Luna stated, "Anyone trying to convince you [not to rein in intelligence agencies] is using 'security' as an excuse to erode your freedom." The fight to repeal the Patriot Act is a fight for the integrity of our constitutional Republic — a government bound by the Constitution, not one that rules through fear and surveillance.

Americans must act to support H.R. 3245. Contact your U.S. representative and senators, and urge them to uphold the Constitution and dismantle the surveillance state by supporting H.R. 3245. ■

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